

# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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VOL. XXXVIII-XXXIX (1989-1990)

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# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

founded by Erik Gren

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*Edited by*

TRYGGVE KRONHOLM

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Oriental studies  
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source of living friendship

cordially congratulated  
on his 70th birthday, March 2, 1991

by  
contributors, colleagues, students  
relatives, and personal friends





Gustaf Västerström



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## Editorial Note

From this volume and forward I have taken over the responsibilities as *editor* of this Journal from Dr. Frithiof Rundgren, my predecessor on the chair for Semitic Languages at Uppsala University.

It is, accordingly, incumbent on me to express here a most heartfelt debt of gratitude to Professor Rundgren, who has carried out all editorial tasks pertaining to *Orientalia Suecana* for the entire period 1965 to 1989, the only exception being vol. XXXIII–XXXV (1984–1986), edited by myself and Dr. Eva Riad.

Due to Dr. Rundgren's constant diligence and strenuous efforts the Journal has been stamped with scholarly perfection and outstanding technical quality. It is my hope to be able to uphold the excellence thus established.

The present volume of *Orientalia Suecana* is a double issue. It is my intention to let the Journal mainly appear on a yearly basis in the future.

Uppsala, February 15, 1991.

TRYGGVE KRONHOLM  
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## Preface

A great number of the contributions contained in this double issue of *Orientalia Suecana* derive their origins from papers read at the Second Scandinavian Symposium for Semitic Studies, a conference organized and headed by Professor Vitestam, which was held in Kivik, Sweden, on 16–18 August, 1990.

Some scholars that took part in the Kivik Symposium later wrote a particular study in honour of Professor Vitestam on a topic other than the respective one treated at the conference. This applies to the articles by Dr. Eskhult from Uppsala, Professor Knudsen from Oslo, Professor Kropp from Lund/Schwetzingen, Professor Retsö from Gothenburg, and Dr. Witakowski from Uppsala, as well as to my own two contributions.

A few other articles were, likewise, written especially in view of this tributary volume by colleagues of Professor Vitestam unable to attend the Kivik Symposium, viz. Associate Professor Pedersén of Uppsala, Associate Professor Riad of Uppsala, Professor Rundgren of Uppsala, and Professor Toll of Copenhagen.

The study by Dr. Lundquist was presented to the research seminar at the Institute for Middle East Studies, Lund University, in the spring term of 1988. The article by Associate Professor Isaksson of Stockholm, is based on a public lecture held at Uppsala University in June 1988.

With regard to the remaining two contributions, the study by Dr. Baitchura from Leningrad, was submitted to the previous editor, and the one by Dr. Török from Budapest, was sent to the present editor by courtesy of the Institute for Classics at the University of Bergen, Norway.

Uppsala, February 15, 1991.

*The Editor*



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# The Length of Vowels and the Tone Movement in Udehe Words According to Some Instrumental-Phonetic Data

UZBEK SH. BAITCHURA, Leningrad

The present work continues my article "Word Intonation in Udehe According to Instrumental-Phonetic Data" published in the *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. XXVII–XXVIII (1978–1979), pp. 108–117.

Instrumental-phonetic studies of Udehe were first begun by E. R. Schneider in 1933 at the Experimental-phonetic laboratory of the Leningrad University. He obtained cymograms of a number of individual words and of some sentences in the pronunciation of two Udehe informants, then students in Leningrad. However Schneider was subjected to Stulin's repressions, and could not, for this reason, decipher his cymograms. They were deciphered and worked on by me. In the preceding (of 1979) and present articles the results are given.

## ABSOLUTE LENGTH OF VOWELS\*

According to the data obtained from the first informant, the length of vowels in open syllables of disyllabic words is distributed as follows.

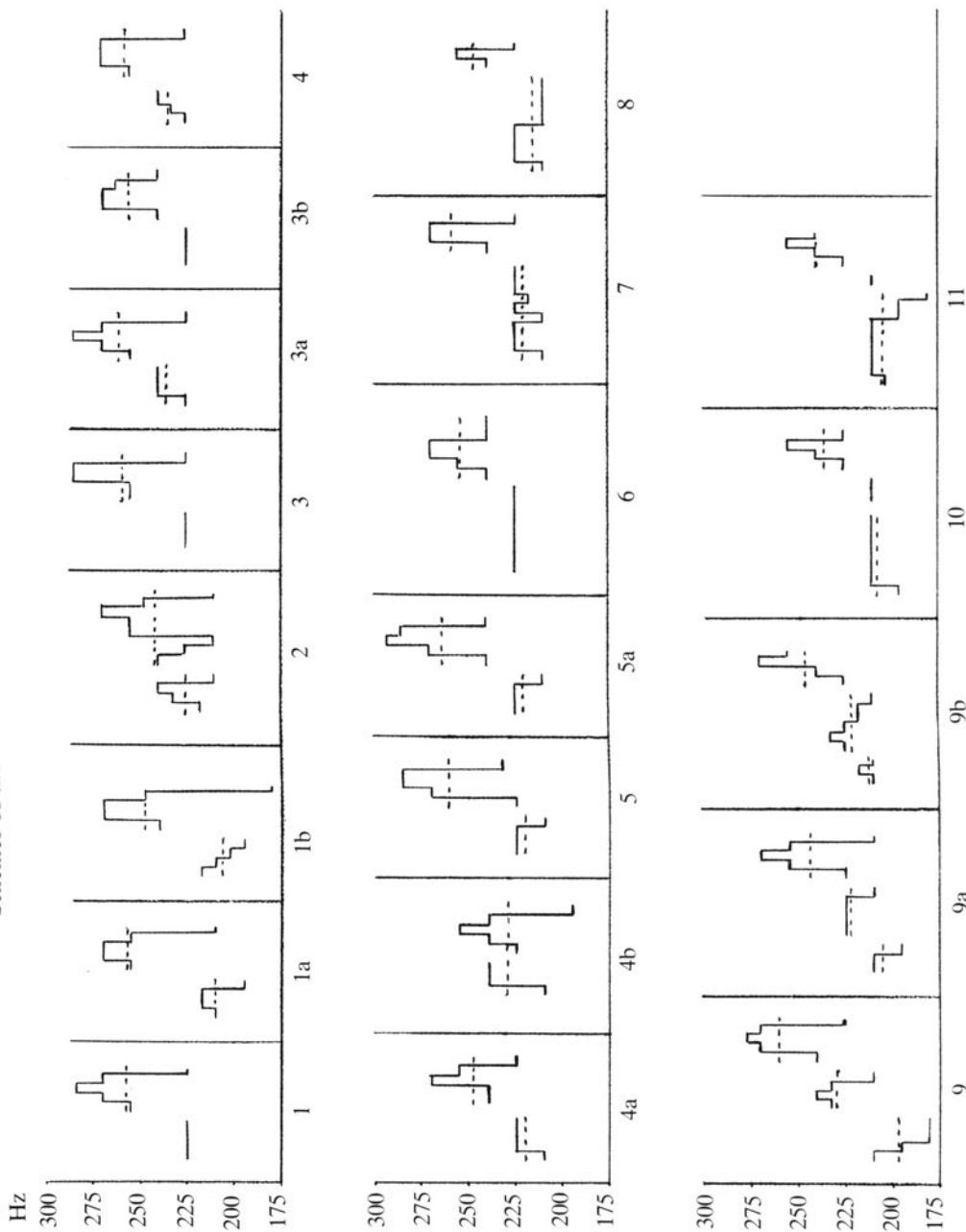
In the initial open syllable the length of the vowel *o* is equal to 12,7 cs (6 measurements = m) in the words *bono* 'hail' (3 m); *mono* 'maple' (tree) (3 m), the distribution is from 11,6 to 14,8 cs; the length of *a* is 13,2 cs in the word *näga* 'to put back' (2 m); the length of *u* is 13,2 cs in the word *buta* 'to preserve' (1 m); the length of *a* is 13,2 cs in the word *kask* 'jerky' (3 m); the length of *ä* is 32,7 cs in the word *näni* 'Nanai', 'earth', 'land' (1 m); the length of *ü* is 33,0 cs (1 m) in the word *düni* 'four', 'to dig ice'; the length of the diphthong *eu* is equal to 32,7 cs in the word *geula* 'on the oar' (1 m).

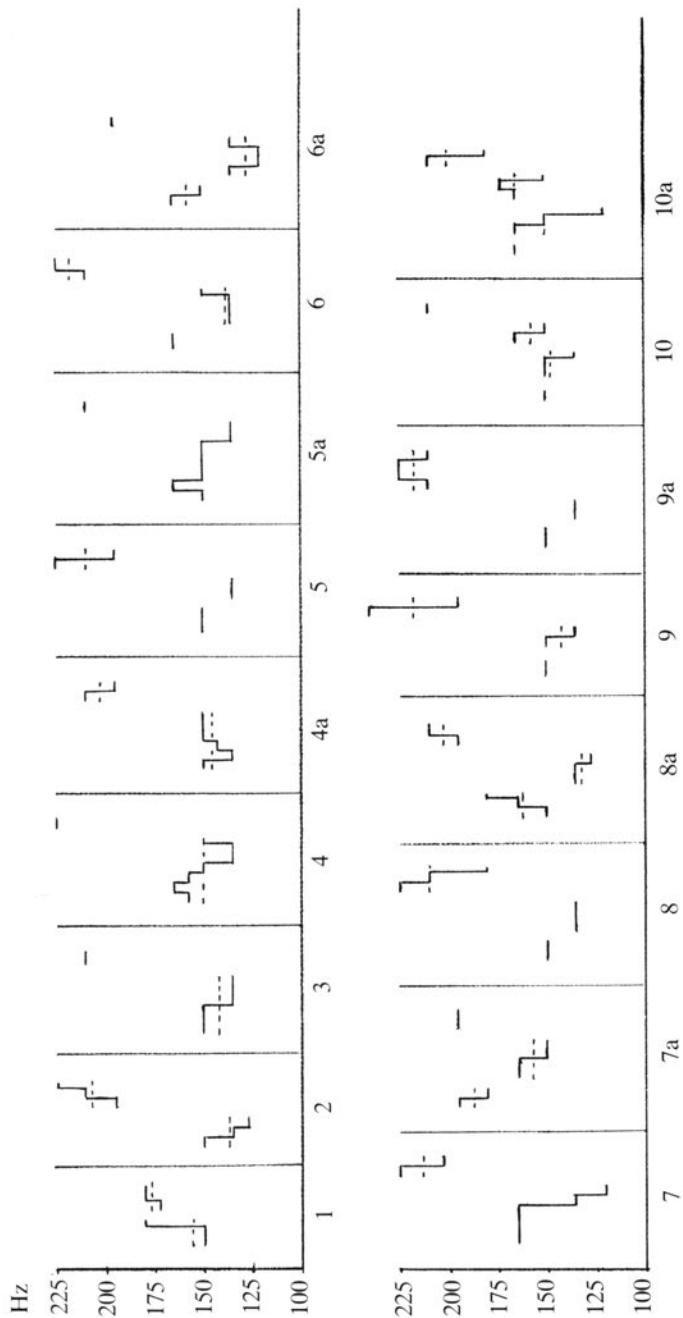
In the second open syllable we have the following data. The length of the vowel *o* is 16,5 cs (6 m) in the words *bono* 'hail' (3 m) and *mono* 'maple' (3 m); the length of *a* is 16,5 cs in the word *näga* 'to put back' (2 m); the length of the vowel *u* is 17,0 cs in the word *kasu* 'jerki' (3 m: from 14,8 to 21,5 cs); the length of the vowel *a* is 19,8 cs in the words *buta* 'to preserve' (1 m: 24,8 cs), *geula* 'on the oar' (1 m: 14,8 cs); the length of the vowel *i* is 17,3 cs in the words *näni* 'Nanai' (1 m) and *düni* 'four', 'to dig ice' (1 m) (the distribution is from 13,2 in *düni* to 21,4 in *näni*). These data are summarized in table 1. The figures lead to the following conclusions.

- 1) In Udehe there is the opposition of short (or normal) and long vowels, the ratio

\* The length of vowels was measured in the words which had been subjected to investigation in the preceding article, and with the degree of accuracy equal to 1,65 cs (to which the space of 2,5 mm corresponds on the cymograms).

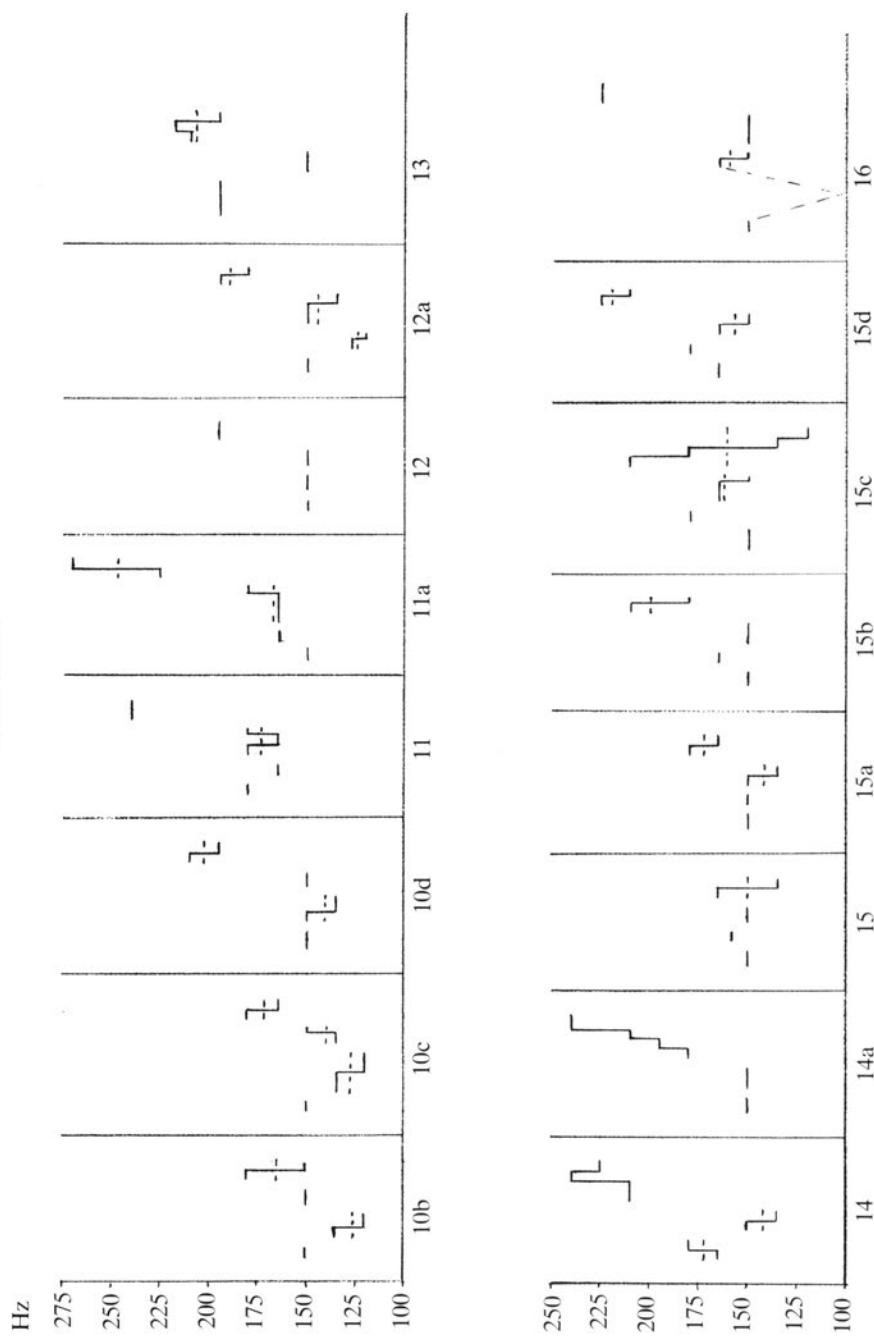
Schemes of the tone movement in Udehe words Informant 1



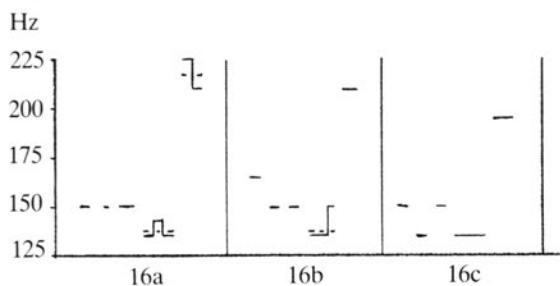


Note: M: 1 mm = 1,65 cs. Dotted (stroke) line denotes the mean tone.

## Informant 2



## Informant 2



comprising ca. 1 to 2,5 ( $a : \bar{a} = 40,4\%$ ;  $u : \bar{u} = 40,0\%$ ) in the first open syllable of disyllabic words.

- 2) When both syllables are open and both vowels are normal, the length of the second vowel surpasses that of the first, the ratio being from 53 to 90%.
- 3) However, when the first vowel is a long one, while the second is normal, the relation of the length of the first vowel to that of the second is from 153 to 250%.
- 4) When in the initial syllable there is a long vowel, the absolute length of the second (normal) vowel diminishes in comparison with the case when both vowels are short (normal) in the word. This is the manifestation of the general trend to quantitative unity of the word first noticed by me in 1955.\*\*

According to the data obtained from the second informant, the absolute length of the vowels is a little less, however the relations in length are analogous.

Thus, the length of the vowel  $a$  in the first syllable of the word *tada* 'arrow' (1 m) is equal to 9,9 cs; the length of the vowel  $i$  in the word *gida* 'spear' is 8,2 cs (1 m), while the length of the long vowel  $\bar{a}$  is equal to 20,4 cs (weighted average) in the words *bāta* 'boy' (1 m) and *ānta* 'southern slope of a mountain' (2 m). The length of  $a$  in the second open syllable is equal to 8,2 cs in the words *gida* 'spear' and *tada* 'arrow' (in each), while the length of  $a$  in the second syllable of words with the first long vowel (or a diphthong) is, on the average, 5,0 cs, the figures being distributed as follows: *bāta* 5,0 cs, *ānta* 3,3 cs, *ānta* 6,6 cs.

These are normal quantitative relations in vocalism for a language having the opposition of long and short vowels: the former surpass the latter by 2 or 2,5 times. The reduced vowel  $\varkappa$  and the vowels near to it in their articulation (e.g.,  $o$ ) tend to be the shortest; the high vowels ( $i$ ,  $u$ ) are longer; while the vowel  $a$  is usually the longest, however the difference is, as a rule, unimportant: as it is seen from the table, the length of the short vowels is distributed from 12,7 (0 - avr.) to 13,2 cs ( $a$ ,  $u$ ,  $\varkappa$ ) in the initial syllable, and in the second syllable from 16,5 ( $o$ ,  $\varkappa$ ) to 19,8 ( $a$ ), see table 1.

The data on the absolute length of vowels in trisyllabic words yield the following

\*\* See, e.g., U. Baičura, "Experimentalphonetische Beiträge zur Untersuchung des Wortakzenten des Kasan-Tatarischen" in Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus V, Budapest, 1955, p. 267. and other works of the same author.

Table 1.

Nº of the syllable	Vowels	The length of the vowels (Inf. 1)	
		Average	Deviations
I	a	13,2 (3 m)	
	u	13,2 (1 m)	
	o	12,7 (6 m)	
	ø	13,2 (2 m)	11,6–14,8
	ā	32,7 (1 m)	
	ū	33,0 (1 m)	
II	eu	32,7 (1 m)	
	a	19,8 (2 m)	14,8–24,8
	u	17,0 (3 m)	14,8–21,5
	o	16,5 (6 m)	
	ø	16,5 (2 m)	
	i	17,3 (2 m)	13,2–21,4

results. In the word *toködu* ‘to the cloud’ (3 m), the length of the first vowel *o* comprised, on the average, 11,0 cs (deviations being from 8,2 to 14,8 cs), thus a little less than in the first syllable of disyllabic words *bono* ‘hail’ and *mono* ‘maple’ (12,7 cs, the deviations are from 11,6 to 14,8 cs), which is normal. The length of the final vowel *u* in this trisyllabic word appeared to be equal to 13,7 cs (from 11,6 to 14,8 cs), while in the disyllabic word *kasu* ‘jerky’ (3 m), the length of *u* comprised, on the avr., 17,0 cs (from 14,8 to 21,5 cs). The length of the vowel *ø* in the word *toködu* is 16,5 cs avr. (3 m distributed from 13,2 to 19,8 cs), but I did not find disyllabic words with this vowel in Schneider’s materials. On the whole, the absolute length of vowels in polysyllabic words diminishes in comparison with the length of the same vowels in disyllabic words. This is most clearly seen from the examples of words containing diphthongs: in the word *geulini* ‘along the oar’ the length of the diphthong *eu* is 28,0 cs, while in the word *geula* ‘on the oar’ it is 32,7 cs; moreover, the sum of the lengths of all vowels in the first word (a trisyllabic one) is equal to 49,4 cs, whereas the sum of the lengths of vowels in the disyllabic word *geula* is equal to 47,5 cs. And in the word *moutulu* ‘kerchief ...’ the sum of the lengths of the vowels is 47,5 cs. Thus, the same or nearly the same quantity of the vowel length is distributed between two vowels in disyllabic words and between three vowels in trisyllabic words, whence it follows that the absolute length of the vowels in polysyllabic words must be diminishing in comparison with disyllabic ones.

According to the data of the second informant, we have an analogous picture. E.g., the length of the vowel *a* of the initial syllable in the word *tada* ‘arrow’ is 9,9 cs, while in the word *tadaži* ‘with the arrow’ it is 5,8 cs (2 m: from 5,0 to 6,6 cs); the length of the final vowel *a* in the words *gida* ‘spear’ and *tada* ‘arrow’ is equal to 8,2 cs, while the length of the final vowel *a* in the word *bugasa* ‘isle’ is 5,0 cs (2 m: 3,3 and 6,6 cs). The length of the vowel *i* in the word *gida* ‘spear’ is 8,2 cs, while in the

Table 2.

Disyllabic words and translation	The length in centiseconds		Ratio $L_1/L_2$ in %
	1st vowel $L_1$	2nd vowel $L_2$	
<b>Informant N° 1</b>			
1. kasu 'jerky'	13,2	14,8	89
1a. kasu 'jerky'	13,2	14,8	89
1b. kasu 'jerky'	13,2	21,5	61
Average (N°N° 1-1b)	13,2	17,0	80
2. buta 'to preserve'	13,2	24,8	53
3. bono 'hail'	11,6	16,5	70
3a. bono 'hail'	13,2	16,5	80
3b. bono 'hail'	13,2	16,5	80
Average (N°N° 3-3b)	12,7	16,5	77
4. mono 'maple'	11,6	16,5	70
4a. mono 'maple'	14,8	16,5	90
4b. mono 'maple'	11,6	16,5	70
Average (N°N° 4-4b)	12,7	16,5	77
5. nəgə 'to put back'	13,2	16,5	80
5a. nəgə 'to put back'	13,2	16,5	80
Average (N°N° 5-5b)	13,2	16,5	80
6. nāni 'Nanai', 'earth'	32,7	21,4	153
7. dūni 'four', etc.	33,0	13,2	250
8. geula 'on the oar'	32,7	14,8	221
<b>Informant N° 2</b>			
1. gida 'spear'	8,2	8,2	100
2. tada 'arrow'	9,9	8,2	122
3. bāta 'boy'	19,8	5,0	396
4. ānta 'southern slope of a mountain'	21,4	3,3	648
4a. ānta 'southern slope of a mountain'	19,8	6,6	300
Average (N°N° 4-4a)	20,6	5,0	474

word *gidaži* 'with the spear' its length comprises 7,4 cs avr. (2 m: 6,6 and 8,2 cs). The sum of the lengths of the vowels in the word *tada* 'arrow' is 18,1 cs, while in the word *tadaži* 'with the arrow' it is 20,6 cs. Thus we see here the manifestation of the tendency to quantitative unification of the word although it seldom reaches its final limit.

The sum of the length of vowels in tetrasyllabic words comprised respectively: *bugasadu* 'to the isle' (5 m) 25,4 cs; *gadakčaini* 'I took' (2 m) 23,1 cs, *gidatidi* 'to the spear' (2 m) 22,4 cs; *montolokto* 'wheel' (5 m) 23,1 cs; in the word *gadakčanami* (4 m) we have 25,4 cs, while in trisyllabic words (pronounced by the same second informant) we have respectively: *bugasa* 'isle' (1 m) 21,4 cs; *gadami* 'he takes' (2 m) 24,8 cs; *sugəsa* 'axe' (1) 26,4 cs; *gidaži* 'with the spear' (2 m) 24,7 cs; *tadaži* 'with the arrow' 20,6 cs. Thus, the length of tritetra- and pentasyllabic words tends to be equal, whence it follows that the length of sounds tends to diminish with the increase of the number of syllables in the word. Individual cases corroborate this, too, cf., e.g., *tada* 'arrow' 18,1 cs and *tadaži* (2 m) 20,6 cs (18,2 and 22,1).

As to disyllabic words, there are only five of them in the pronunciation of this

Table 3.

Trisyllabic words and translation	The length in centiseconds (cs)			Ratio in %	
	L <sub>1</sub>	L <sub>2</sub>	L <sub>3</sub>	L <sub>1</sub> /L <sub>3</sub>	L <sub>2</sub> /L <sub>3</sub>
<b>Informant N° 1</b>					
9. toködu 'to the cloud'	14,8	13,2	14,8	100	89
9a. toködu 'to the cloud'	9,9	16,5	14,8	67	112
9b. toködu 'to the cloud'	8,2	19,8	11,6	71	171
Average (N°N° 9-9b)	11,0	16,5	13,7	79	124
10. geulinii 'along his oar'	28,0	8,2	13,2	212	62
11. moutulu 'kerchief used as protection against mosquitoes'	32,6	3,3	11,6	281	28
<b>Informant N° 2</b>					
5. bugasa 'isle'	8,2	6,6	6,6	124	100
5a. bugasa 'isle'	26,4		3,3		
6. gadami 'he takes', 'gatheres'	5,0	11,6	6,6	75	175
6a. gadami 'he takes, etc.'	6,6	13,2	6,6	100	200
Average (N°N° 6-6a)	5,8	12,4	6,6	88	188
7. sugəsə 'axe'	19,8		6,6		
7a. sugəsə 'axe'	6,6	13,2	6,6	100	200
8. gidaži 'with the spear'	6,6	9,9	8,2	80	121
8a. gidaži 'with the spear'	8,2	9,9	6,6	124	150
Average (N°N° 8-8a)	7,4	9,9	7,4	102	136
9. tadaži 'with the arrow'	5,0	6,6	6,6	75	100
9a. tadaži 'with the arrow'	6,6	6,6	9,9	67	67
Average (N°N° 9-9a)	5,8	6,6	8,2	71	84

informant, and only two of them can be compared here: *gida* 'spear' in which the sum of the lengths of the vowels is 16,4 cs and *tada* 'arrow' 18,1 cs, while the three other examples contain long vowels in the initial syllable, and this is why we have here bigger figures: *bāta* 'boy' 24,8 cs and *ānta* 'southern slope ...' (2 m) 25,6 cs. And last: in words with short (normal) vowels in both syllables as *gida* 'spear', *tada* 'arrow', the length of the second vowel is 8,2 cs, while in words with the first long vowel as *bāta* 'boy', *ānta* 'southern slope of a mountain', the length of the vowel *a* of the second syllable is equal to 5,0 cs (in individual cases even 3,3 cs), that is the length of the second vowel diminishes both absolutely and relatively. This is also a manifestation of the general tendency to a quantitative unity of the word.

### RELATIVE LENGTH OF VOWELS

According to the data of the first informant, when both vowels of a disyllabic word are normal (short) and both syllables are open, the length of the second vowel invariably surpasses that of the first from 61 to 90%. But when the vowel of the initial syllable is a long one or a diphthong, then, of course, the first vowel is longer, comprising from 153 to 250% of the second.

The same tendency is registered according to the data of the second informant. There is however a difference consisting in that, according to the data of the second

Table 4.

N°	Words and Translation	Vowel length in centiseconds (cs)				Ratio in %				
		L <sub>1</sub>	L <sub>2</sub>	L <sub>3</sub>	L <sub>4</sub>	L <sub>1</sub> /L <sub>4</sub>	L <sub>2</sub> /L <sub>4</sub>	L <sub>3</sub> /L <sub>4</sub>		
<b>Informant N° 2</b>										
10.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	3,3	8,2	6,6	3,3	100	250	200		
10a.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	3,3	8,2	8,2	5,0	66	164	164		
10b.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	3,3	8,2	5,0	6,6	50	124	76		
10c.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	3,3	13,2	8,2	6,6	50	200	124		
10d.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	6,6	8,2	5,0	6,6	100	124	76		
	Average (N°N° 10–10d)	4,0	9,2	6,6	5,6	73	172	128		
11.	gadakčaini 'I took'	3,3	3,3	8,2	6,6	50	50	124		
11a.	gadakčaini 'I took'	3,3	3,3	11,6	6,6	50	50	176		
	Average (N°N° 11–11a)	3,3	3,3	9,9	6,6	50	50	150		
12.	gidatidi 'to the spear'	3,3	5,0	5,0	6,6	50	76	76		
12a.	gidatidi 'to the spear'	5,0	5,0	9,9	5,0	100	100	198		
	Average (N°N° 12–12a)	4,2	5,0	7,4	5,8	75	88	137		
13.	sigilinku 'poker'		11,6	6,6	9,9			67		
14.	tadatidi 'to the arrow'	6,6	6,6		13,2					
14a.	tadatidi 'to the arrow'	5,0	6,6		14,9					
	Average (N°N° 14–14a)									
15.	montolokto 'wheel'	5,0	3,3	5,0	6,6	76	50	76		
15a.	montolokto 'wheel'	5,0	3,3	6,6	6,6	76	50	100		
15b.	montolokto 'wheel'	5,0	3,3	6,6	5,0	100	66	132		
15c.	montolokto 'wheel'	6,6	3,3	8,2	13,2	50	25	62		
15d.	montolokto 'wheel'	5,0	3,3	6,6	8,2	61	40	80		
	Average (N°N° 15–15d)	5,3	3,3	6,6	7,9	73	46	90		
N°	Words and Translation	L <sub>1</sub>	L <sub>2</sub>	L <sub>3</sub>	L <sub>4</sub>	L <sub>5</sub>	L <sub>1</sub> /L <sub>5</sub>	L <sub>2</sub> /L <sub>5</sub>	L <sub>3</sub> /L <sub>5</sub>	L <sub>4</sub> /L <sub>5</sub>
16.	gadakčanami – a participial form of the verb gadaini 'to take'.	3,3	0,0	5,0	9,9	6,6	50	0,0	76	150
16a.	—“—	3,3	1,6	5,0	9,9	6,6	50	24	76	150
16b.	—“—	3,3	3,3	3,3	8,2	5,0	66	66	66	164
16c.	—“—	3,3	3,3	3,3	9,9	6,6	50	50	50	150
	Average (N°N° 16–16c).	3,3	2,0	4,4	9,5	6,2	54	35	67	154

informant, the length of the vowel of the initial syllable tends to be longer than that of the second when both vowels are short (normal).

In trisyllabic words we have the following picture according to the data of the first informant. In the word *toködu* 'to the cloud' (3 m), the longest is the vowel of the second syllable, comprising 124% of the third, while the shortest is the vowel of the initial syllable. However in words with a long vowel or with a diphthong in the initial syllable, the picture is changed: while the second vowel is the shortest and even reduced, the longest is the vowel of the initial syllable.

According to the data of the second informant, in words with short (normal) vowels as *gadami* 'he takes' (2) *sugəsə* 'axe' (1) *gidaži* 'with the spear' (2), the second vowel is the longest, while the length of the vowel of the initial syllable is either shorter or equal to that of the third vowel. And in two words we have

Table 5.

N°	Disyllabic words and translation	The mean tone height (Hz)		The interval in tones ( $a^1 = 435$ Hz)
		1st vowel ( $t_1$ )	2nd vowel ( $t_2$ )	
1.	kasu 'jerky'	225	258	-1½
1a.	kasu 'jerky'	210	257	-1¾
1b.	kasu 'jerky'	206	248	-1½
	Average (N°N° 1-1b)	214	254	-1½
2.	buta 'to lay in'	225	241	-½
3.	bono 'hail'	225	259	-1¼
3a.	bono 'hail'	236	261	-¾
3b.	bono 'hail'	225	256	-1
	Average (N°N° 3-3b)	229	259	-1
4.	mono 'maple'	234	258	-¾
4a.	mono 'maple'	220	246	-¾
4b.	mono 'maple'	231	231	-
	Average (N°N° 4-4b)	228	245	-½
5.	nəgo 'to put back'	221	260	-1½
5a.	nəgo 'to put back'	221	266	-1½
	Average (N°N° 5-5a)	221	263	-1½
6.	nāni 'Nanai'	225	257	-1¼
7.	dūni 'four'	221	259	-1½
8.	geula 'on the oar'	216	248	-1½
	Weighted average (for 8 words/15 measurements)	222	253	-1½

deviations: in *bugasa* 'isle' (1) the vowel of the initial syllable is the longest, whereas the vowels of the second and third syllables are on the same level, while in *tadaži* 'with the arrow' (2), on the contrary, the vowel of the last syllable is the longest and the first vowel is the shortest.

As a rule, the deviations do not depend on the quality of the vowels.

In tetrasyllabic words we have the following picture (2nd inf.) In the word *bugasadu* 'to the isle', the second vowel is the longest, the first one is the shortest; in the words *gadakčani* 'I took' (2) and *gidatidi* 'to the spear' (2), the third vowel is the longest (i.e. the last but one), while the first vowel is the shortest (in the latter word it is equal to the second vowel). And in the word *montolokto* 'wheel', the length of the last vowel is the longest, that of the second vowel is the shortest.

In the pentasyllabic word *gadakčanami* (4) the longest is the last but one vowel, the shortest is the second vowel.

Thus, the general tendency is seen to pronounce the last but one vowel as the longest.

Table 6.

N°	Disyllabic words and translation	The mean tone height (Hz)		The interval in tones ( $a^1 = 435$ Hz)
		1st vowel ( $t_1$ )	2nd vowel ( $t_2$ )	
1.	gida 'spear'	156	177	-1
2.	tada 'arrow'	138	207	-3½
3.	bāta 'boy'	142	210	-3½
4.	ānta 'southern slope of a mountain'	150	225	-3
4a.	ānta 'southern slope of a mountain'	146	202	-4¼
	Average (N°N° 4-4a)	148	214	-3½
	Weighted average (N°N° 1-4a)	146	202	-3

## THE TONE MOVEMENT IN WORDS

On the basis of numerical data, the tone movement in Udehe words discussed was described in the preceding (1979) article. Here I adduce the tables showing the intervals in tones between the vowels in di-, tri- and tetrasyllabic words and schemes (absent from the preceding article) of the tone movement in the words, and draw some general conclusions.

1. In disyllabic words the mean (and the maximal) tone height of the second vowel invariably surpasses that of the first according to the data of both informants. According to the first informant, weighted average for 8 words (15 measurements) comprised -1½ tones, the deviations being distributed (in measurements) from Zero (*mono* 'maple', 1 m. from 3, avr. is -½ t.) to -1¼ tones (*kasu* 'jerky', 1 m. from 3, avr. is -1½ t.). According to the second informant, weighted average for 4 words (5 m) comprised -3 tones, the deviations being from -1 tone (*gida* 'spear') to 4¼ tones (*ānta* 'southern slope ...', 1 m. from 2, avr. is 3½ t.). Thus, the tonic accent in disyllabic words is more strongly marked in the speech of the second informant.

2. In trisyllabic words, according to both informants, the tone of the vowel of the final syllable also invariably surpasses those of the preceding vowels. According to the first informant, in 3 words (5 m), the mean tone of the last vowel is higher than that of the first on the average, by -1½ tones (the deviations in measurements are from -1 in *geulini* 'along his oar' to 2¼ t. in *toködu* 'to the cloud', 1 m. from 3, avr. is -1¾ t.); the tone of the last vowel is higher than that of the second by -1 tone (the deviations being from -¾ t. in *toködu*, 1 m. from 3, to -1¼ tones in *moutulu* 'kerchief ...').

According to the data of the second informant, the tone of the last vowel surpasses that of the first in 5 words (9 m), on the average, by 2½ tones (the deviations in measurements being from -¼ tone in *sugəsə* 'axe', 1 m. from 2, avr. is -1¼ t.) to -3¼ tones (*tadaži* 'with the arrow', 2 m). And the mean tone of the last vowel surpasses that of the second by 3½ tones avr. (the deviations are from -¾ tone in *sugəsə* 'axe', 1 m. from 2, avr. is 2¼ t., to -4¼ t. in *tadaži*, 1 m. from 2, avr. is 4 t.).

Table 7.

N°	Trisyllabic words and translation	The mean tone height (in Hz)			The Interval (in tones)	
		1st vowel 2nd vowel 3rd vowel			$t_1/t_3$	$t_2/t_3$
		$t_1$	$t_2$	$t_3$		
<b>Informant N° 1</b>						
9.	toködu 'to the cloud'	198	229	260	-2½	-1
9a.	toködu 'to the cloud'	205	222	244	-1¾	-¾
9b.	toködu 'to the cloud'	213	221	246	-1¼	-1
	Average (N°N° 9-9b)	205	224	250	-1¾	-1-
10.	geulini 'along his oar'	208	210	236	-1	-1
11.	moutulu 'kerchief ...'	204	210	240	-1½	-1¼
	Weighted average for 3 words (5 meas.)	206	215	242	-1½-	-1
<b>Informant N° 2</b>						
5.	bugasa 'isle'	150	135	210	-3	-4
6.	gadami 'he takes'	165	150	218	-2½	-3¼
6a.	gadami 'he takes'	158	128	202	-2¼	-4
	Average (N°N° 6-6a)	162	139	210	-2½	-3¼
7.	sugəsə 'axe'	165	140	213	-2¼	-3¼
7a.	sugəsə 'axe'	188	158	195	-¼	-¾
	Average (N°N° 7-7a)	176	149	204	-1¼	-2¼
8.	gidaži 'with the spear'	150	135	210	-3	-4
8a.	gidaži 'with the spear'	162	132	202	-2	-3¼
	Average (N°N° 8-8a)	156	134	206	-2½	-3¾
9.	tadaži 'with the arrow'	150	142	218	-3¼	-3¼
9a.	tadaži 'with the arrow'	150	135	218	-3¼	-4¼
	Average (N°N° 9-9a)	150	138	218	-3¼	-4
	Weighted average for 5 words (9 measurements)	159	139	210	-2½	-3½

Thus, we see that there is a difference between the data of the two informants, and it consists in that, if according to the first informant, the lowest is the tone of the first vowel, the data of the second informant show, in contrast to this, that the lowest is the tone of the second vowel. This circumstance can influence the character of phonetic processes, e.g., the reduction of vowels, which can more easily take place in the first vowel in the speech of the first informant, however in the second vowel according to the second informant.

3. Tetrasyllabic words were registered only in the pronunciation of the second informant. According to the average figures for 6 words (17 measurements), the mean tone of the last vowel surpasses the mean tone of the preceding vowels more than by 2 tones.

Thus, the mean tone of the last vowel is, on the average, by -2,1 tones higher than that of the first, the deviations ranging from Zero (*montolokto* 'wheel', 1 m. from 5, avr. is -1½ t) to -4¼ tones (*gadakčaini* 'I took', 1 m. from 2, avr. is -3¾ t.). The mean tone of the last vowel surpasses that of the second by 2,3 tones on the

Table 8.

N°	Tetrasyllabic words and translation	The mean tone height of vowels (in Hz)				Interval in tones (a <sup>1</sup> = 435 Hz)		
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	3d vowel	4th vowel	t <sub>1</sub> /t <sub>4</sub>	t <sub>2</sub> /t <sub>4</sub>	t <sub>3</sub> /t <sub>4</sub>
		t <sub>1</sub>	t <sub>2</sub>	t <sub>3</sub>	t <sub>4</sub>			
10.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	150	147	158	210	-3	-3	-2½
10a.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	165	150	165	200	-1¼	-2½	-1¼
10b.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	150	126	150	165	-1	-2¼	-1
10c.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	150	128	140	172	-1¼	-2½	-1¼
10d.	bugasadu 'to the isle'	150	141	150	202	-2½	-3	-2½
Average (N°N° 10-10d)		153	138	153	190	-1⅓	-2⅓	-1⅓
11.	gadakčaini 'I took'	180	165	174	240	-2½	-3¼	-2¾
11a.	gadakčaini 'I took'	150	165	167	248	-4¼	-3½	-3½
Average (N°N° 11-11a)		165	165	170	244	-3¾	-3¾	-3¾
12.	gidatidi 'to the spear'	150	150	150	195	-2¼	-2¼	-2¼
12a.	gidatidi 'to the spear'	150	125	145	190	-2	-4	-2½
Average (N°N° 12-12a)		150	138	148	192	-2⅓	-3⅓	-2⅓
13.	sigilinku 'poker'	195	195	150	208	-½	-½	-3
14.	tadatidi 'to the arrow'	172	142	210	232	-2½	-4¼	-¾
14a.	tadatidi 'to the arrow'	150	150	192	232	-3¾	-3¾	-1½
Average (N°N° 14-14a)		161	146	201	232	-3¾	-4,0	-1½
15.	montolokto 'wheel'	150	158	150	150	-	+½	-
15a.	montolokto 'wheel'	150	150	142	172	-1¼	-1¼	-1¾
15b.	montolokto 'wheel'	150	165	150	200	-2½	-1¾	-2½
15c.	montolokto 'wheel'	150	180	162	161	-½	+1	-
15d.	montolokto 'wheel'	165	180	158	220	-3	-1¾	-3
Average (N°N° 15-15d)		153	167	152	181	-1½	-2⅓	-1½
Weighted average for 6 words (17 measurements)		163	158	162	208	-2,1	-2,3	-2,2

average, the deviations ranging from +1 tone (*montolokto* 'wheel', 1 m. from 5, avr. is -1½ t.) to -4¼ tones (*tadatidi* 'to the arrow', 1 m. from 2, avr. is -4 tones). And the mean tone of the last vowel is higher than that of the third, on the average, by 2,2 tones, the deviations being from Zero (*montolokto* 'wheel', 2 m. from 5, avr. is -1½ t.) to -3½ tones (*gadakčaini* 'I took', 1 m. from 2, avr. is -3¾ tones).

The positive interval is registered only in 2 measurements (from 5) of the word *montolokto* 'wheel' (2nd vowel), average for the 5 measurements of this word comprising -2⅓ tones for the relations between the second and the fourth vowels.

Thus, we can draw the general conclusion that the mean tone of the last vowel, as a rule, by far surpasses the mean tones of the preceding vowels according to the data of both informants, and the same refers to the maximal tone height of vowels.

Another general regularity consists in that the highest mean tone tends to coincide with its rising movement, which is illustrated with the schemes: here the last vowel is higher in its tessiture in comparison with all other vowels of the word, and at the same time it has a strongly marked rising movement which only at the end is followed by a final fall, while the tone movement in all other vowels is, as a rule, of various character.

# Khāssa and ‘āmma

## On Slogans, Concepts and Social Settings in Islamic History

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In Arabic literature a recurrent pattern of the two antithetical terms *al-khāṣṣa* *wa'l-‘āmma* may be discerned. The terms, which also in the plural *al-khawāṣṣ* *wa'l-awāmm*, denote, in a general way, 'the elite and the commonalty' or 'the aristocracy and the masses'. The use of these two terms, however, by both ancient and modern writers, clearly conceals a much more differentiated social reality than is evident from the terms themselves. What is, for instance, the significance of applying this pair of opposition to describe the distinction of some and particularly contrary to the rest, the commoners, or what is the social implication of the two concepts whenever applied? Or is it the aristocratic spirit of the Arabs which is to account for this dichotomy?

A thorough reading of the texts where the two terms appear does not, however, prove particular successful for the understanding of their usage. Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. AD 757), for instance, talks about members of the *khāṣṣa* understood as comprising people of merit and quality and the attitude which one should adopt towards them.<sup>1</sup> Then there is the idea that *khāṣṣa* signifies the group containing the confidants of the rulers.<sup>2</sup> Historians often mentioned persons who were closest (*khāṣṣa*) to the caliphs and sultans. Another and maybe related group was the persons around the ruler which had the right to intervene in the affairs of the state, as to participate in the designation of an heir or to install a new caliph by giving their oath of allegiance, *bay'at al-khāṣṣa*, or sitting in the tribunal of *mazālim al-khāṣṣa* set up for them. The criterion and the criterion for membership or function of the members in this *khāṣṣa* are nevertheless ill-defined.

This confusion is maintained by modern scholars. Michael G. Morony simply states that the *khāṣṣa* was an elite group living with the people, *‘āmma*, in the garrison cities, and that this formation was achieved by the time of Mu'awiya.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter the author does not mention them at all. W. Montgomery Watt claims that when the Imāmites think of themselves as *khāṣṣa* and the sunnites as the common people, *‘āmma*, it is probably due to the fact the Imāmite sect in its earlier form was a political party whose aim was to promote the interests of the wealthier members of the community.<sup>4</sup>

No explanation, then, is given for the appearance of these two terms. They seem to appear out of nowhere to describe an already existing social landscape, but apart from marking out the names of two basic groups they do not denote any group of persons or groups of interest. Once introduced, the two terms found their way into the Arabic literature but with different connotations and different functions.

In the Arabic literature the Islamic consciousness is to a large extent expressed by means of concepts or terms. Their meanings have for the most been fixed by the

Islamic theological tradition and as a consequence, rather reflect the process of shaping the system of a new cultural awareness than the actual conditions under which these terms became operative. In order then, to decode such concepts and thereby understand their transformation into the established Islamic society, it is necessary to place them within the same social context which the proper text itself is aiming at describing. Such a conceptual approach which is sociologically oriented, may also prove successful when trying to work with an overall problem.<sup>5</sup> The study of Islamic institutions is particularly worth mentioning in this context. In the following we will make an attempt to decode the above mentioned antithetical pair *khāṣṣa* and *‘āmma*. By means of the social setting in the historical literature we intend to establish their actual purport and course of transformation into the Islamic cultural history.

The word-set *khāṣṣa* and *‘āmma* appears among the earliest features of the Arab expansion, e.g. in the so-called *ridda*-wars. For the sake of our argument it is necessary to outline the existing background.

In the battle of Aqrabā', at the end of the year 11 (633) or the beginning of 12 (633) the Medinan alliance met the last obstacle to its control of Arabia, the tribe of Ḥanīfa under the command of Maslama b. Ḥabib. With an army of allegedly 40 000 men, who had previously engaged successfully with the Medinan forces, and an aim which apparently was to establish a trade monopoly, built on the Ḥanafis of *al-yamāma* and an effective control of the surrounding group of tribesmen,<sup>6</sup> there can be no doubt that Maslama's movement represented the most serious threat throughout the *ridda* wars. Nevertheless, when Khalīd b. al-Walid and his Medinan bands of tribesmen defeated the tribe of Ḥanīfa, we were faced with one huge tribal movement signalizing to the other and non-engaged arabs to submit and participate in the future action. More important, however, were the new social layers which, as a result of the victory, were emerging. First and on the top of the pyramid, we have the ruling group which was the same as under Muḥammad and was made up of by those who had faithfully served under Muḥammad. With the Quranic words itself they were the ones who had been upright and done the good and rewarding deeds, such as the *muḥādjirūn*, *anṣār* and the tribal allies who had proven themselves reliable in thick and thin. To this group did also the stationary and influential groups from Mecca and Tā'if belong, regardless of their previous controversies with Muḥammad. Below them were all those to whom Muḥammad had appealed for support and submission and who, when they were compelled to choose sides, had decided to back Medina against the *murtaddūn*. These two groups, despite their differences, were the real victors. Beneath them, forming the bottom layer, were all those Arab tribesmen who had been subjugated during the *ridda* wars. In contradistinction to those who had remained faithful and to whom were the rights and rewards, and the second group mentioned above, were the back benchers. They were – whatever their social standing might have been – second-class Arabs, whose designation, *murtaddūn*, cannot have sounded much better than the Quranic slogans *kāfirūn* or *munāfiqūn*, and as such they were not permitted to re-enter the fold of the victors<sup>7</sup> and so kept from any participation in the future activities, such as the coming campaigns.

It is under these very early circumstances that we first run across the pair *khāṣṣa*

and ‘āmma. For instance, in the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr we read *wa-’rtaddat kull qabila ‘āmmatan ’aw khāṣṣatan ’illā qurayshan wa-thaqifan*.<sup>8</sup> Now, the term *khāṣṣa* apart from the above given renderings may also mean chief men.<sup>9</sup> Based on the above mentioned social context, the tribal categories emerging out of the *ridda* wars, the passage at hand could, then, be taken to mean that apart from the *qurayshī* and *thaqifi* tribesmen, both the men of renown (*khāṣṣa*) and all the others (‘āmma) seceded from the Medinan alliance. Still, there were those who kept themselves aloof or even decided to remain within the fold of Medina. In Muslim historiography they have also been designated as the *khawāṣṣ* ‘the men of fame’, despite the fact that most of them did not belong to the Arab chieftainry. Indeed, they were considered so because they had supported the new movement in word and action. Such a case we have among the *banū Ghaṭafān* about which we read that they (i. e. the tribe) withdrew their pledge of allegiance “except those who were among the braver and prominent men without social standing”.<sup>10</sup> Behind the term *khāṣṣa* we thus find that it, at this crucial moment of melting rhetorical slogans into hard hammered socio-politico concepts, conveys two distinct groups of people. On the one hand we find the traditional meaning of the Arabs of rank and social leadership as opposed to the tribal group; and on the other, the new group of fame, containing the less-to-do who had chosen to stand with the people of Mecca, Medina and Tā’if.

As the new Muslim state expanded its territory in the north, the heros of Aqrabā’ and core of the fighting tribesmen became known under their newly won name of social class, *al-khawāṣṣ*. In this capacity, they appeared as and represented, in spite of their low or insignificant tribal standing, the new political elite. On a level with other arabic terms of old, then, *al-khāṣṣa* was given a new meaning covering the loyal members of the Medinan community.

Once rooted the term developed further. During the controversy over the governor of Kūfa, al-Walīd b. ’Uqba b. Abī Mu’ayṭ, governor between 646 – 649, Sayf b. ’Umar reports that the ‘āmma was supporting al-Walīd while the *khāṣṣa* were against him.<sup>11</sup> In the broadest sense, Sayf’s use here of the term *khāṣṣa* should be taken to mean the early comers to the town, i. e. the very same group of tribesmen who had fought victoriously at Aqrabā’ and later at Qādisīya and who now enjoyed all privileges promised. But more particularly it covered those who represented the groups whose socio-genealogical standing was insignificant and relatively speaking, small in numbers. Fearing al-Walīd’s increasing control and his introduction of measures to ensure the *murtaddūn* their shares of the conquest, they began to defend their newly acquired privileges. They succeeded in toppling al-Walīd and, as time went by, succeeded in establishing themselves as the channel for various kinds of oppositional agitation. By the term ‘āmma, on the other hand, Sayf b. ’Umar meant all sort of people including the ‘apostates’, the *murtaddūn*, who did not sit on these privileges and whose socio-economic situation al-Walīd tried to improve at the expense of the *khāṣṣa*’s.<sup>12</sup> It is hardly surprising why the *khāṣṣa*, the earlycomers with seniority and maximum stipends, *sharaf al-aṭā’*, were aggrieved by al-Walīd.<sup>13</sup>

Again it is the same *khāṣṣa* group that Ḥāfiẓah addresses to give her and her Meccan companions support in her struggle against ’Alī, which was eventually

leading of to the battle of the Camel (AD 656).<sup>14</sup> As it turned out, however, these *khawāṣṣ* were among 'Alī's strongest back-ups in his struggle for the leadership and remained so even after his death.

As the political culture developed in the new Muslim state so did the designation of *khāṣṣa* and *'āmma*. This was not the least due to the men known as the *khawāṣṣ*. In the town of Kūfa, for instance, these people more and more frequently fell out with the local authorities there. The reason for this was the same as under al-Walid b. 'Uqba; the increasing member of measures to balance their social and economic benefits with the demands of the growing members of the immigrating Arabs from the south, the so-called newcomers or *ar-rāwādīf*. The solution of the political activism of the *khāṣṣa* came with the killing of al-Ḥusayn. They were no longer a loose group struggling for their own claims by revenging the murder, the *dam al-Ḥusayn*. Their first opportunity that presented itself was to join the revolutionary movement of Sulayman b. Ṣurad, but he neither had the vision nor the practical knack to implement the aspirations of the *khawāṣṣ*. So when Ibn Ṣurad and a group of his companions fell fighting a 30 000 strong Syrian army at 'Ayn al-Warda in 684, the movement faded away. Not long afterwards, however, they found the right man to support. His name was al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafī, and he had arrived in Kūfa just to build up a general dissident movement through the Kufan *khāṣṣa* as a nucleus. He claimed to be a representative of one Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiya, who was the son of another spouse of 'Alī than Fāṭima. He was his confidant (*amīn*), helper (*wazīr*) and commander (*amīr*).<sup>15</sup> Now, when a group of people in Kūfa wanted to assure themselves of the sincerity of al-Mukhtār's claim they went to Ibn Hanafiya himself and asked him about his support. There, during the conversation Ibn Hanafiya is reported to have said *wa-'amma-l-muṣība bi-Ḥusayn fa-qad khaṣṣat 'ahlahū wa-'ammat al-muslimīn*, "regarding the disaster of al-Ḥusayn being murdered, may this deed bestow special honours upon his people and may it prevail among the muslims".<sup>16</sup>

We are here able to have a glimpse of a new stage of development. The *khāṣṣa*, and the *'āmma* for that matter, are no longer terms covering social groups, but reflects the initial efforts under way to formulate some principle relation between the ruling class or the class of merit and the others – a discussion which would characterize the emerging Muslim society in the decades to come. Indeed, we can here witness how the slogans so abundantly represented in the Quran and the earliest historical records, are transformed and rooted in the society, its social practice. First then, and only then, acting upon the social forces, it was possible to create institutions, and setting up the elements of a new way of functioning. But all this in view of the social *datum*. It is significant that it is the movement of the *khawāṣṣ* utilized and directed by al-Mukhtār, that may be considered the actual forerunners of the *shī'a*.

This new concept of the antithetical set *khāṣṣa* and *'āmma* was not in any way restricted to the political milieu of Iraq. Once in motion it was admitted into the melting of sunnī islam. Thus it was taken to design the category of the special privileges, *khaṣā'iṣ*, of the Prophet.<sup>17</sup> Originally the term originated in connection with the discussion over what should be the normative principle in the Muslim's

life. Already at the end of the first Muslim century the principle that was formed was that the *sunna* was to be the judge of the Quran and not vice versa. The problem here was that in several *ḥadīths* there were decisions of the Prophet which later traditionists, such as az-Zuhrī (d. 741), considered too faulty in the sense of being too lenient, to have general application. Thus his special privileges (*al-khāṣṣa*) as a prophet stood in contradistinction to the *sunna*, (*al-‘āmma*), the applicable norm in general. This concept is often repeated. The *khaṣā’is* of the Prophet in their older versions do not attribute particular powers to the Prophet but point rather to his religious and social life where certain limitations are waived for him, or they deal with favours which were shown to him before all other men. He was not to be distinguished more than other prophets. There were only two points concerning his personal capacities: that in contrast to other prophets he was not sent to only one nation but to mankind as a whole, and that he alone could be intercessor with God on behalf of his believers. As time went on, however, the *khaṣā’is* of the Prophet were extended. His strictly personal privileges, as for instance, in the matter of polygamy, did definitely place him above the common law. An even further development of this concept of the *khāṣṣa* may be viewed in the popular concept of Muḥammad’s prophethood.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a full scale picture of the concepts. We will, however, point out its frequent usage as a technical expression distinguishing the exclusive from the common. For instance, al-Māwardī distinguishes between two types of judgeship: one in which the authority is general and absolute, *‘āmma muṭlaqa*, and the other in which the authority is special and limited, *khāṣṣa*.<sup>18</sup> The chief duty of the *qāḍī* of the first class consisting in deciding cases, acting as guardian for orphans and minors, administering pious foundations and imposing punishment to mention some, while the second class judges had their power restricted in accordance with the record of appointment from his superior, the caliph, *wazīr* or governor.

Another example is found in the Safavid administration system. Due to small and inadequate amount of cash in the royal treasury the shāh ‘Abbās the Great (1588–1629), to be able to maintain a standing army of some 40 000 men, had to divide vertically a number of *mamālik* or *‘āmma*, i. e. ‘state’ provinces into *khāṣṣa* or crown provinces to relocate the country’s treasures.<sup>19</sup>

It is hardly surprising to see that the set *khāṣṣa* and *‘āmma* has reached its fullest development within the *shī'a*. Here it formed an intrinsic part of other notions such as *taqīya*, ‘dissimulation’, the practice of hiding or denying one’s true beliefs, *zāhir* and *bāṭin*, literally ‘outside’ and ‘inside’, usually translated ‘exoteric’ and ‘esoteric’, and *ta’wīl*, customarily translated as ‘allegorical interpretation’. In short, it contains the idea that those initiated into this particular system of beliefs, form an elite (*khāṣṣa*) to whom alone that system can be revealed, and that the majority of Muslims form a misled and unenlightened mass (*‘āmma*). With the social context remaining structurally unchanged the set *khāṣṣa* and *‘āmma* is still intact, significantly representing notions central to *shī'a*. As to the actual context it was adjusted to its new function. Thus, all the *shī'a*, designates themselves as *khāṣṣa* being distinguished not so much by past merits as by having close ‘proximity’ to the *sunna*.

of the Prophet. The 'āmma, on the other hand, were the commoners or the other Muslims. Sailing in the past to recognize the men of priority, *ahl as-sābiqa*<sup>20</sup>, the other Muslims were nothing but inferior masses unable to understand the claim and status of the *khawāṣṣ*.

A final aspect of the antithetic terms *khāṣṣa* and 'āmma is the scheme of correspondence between this lower and higher world upon which we shall, in this context, refrain from commenting.

The present paper has tried to demonstrate the significance of socio-political concepts as a wheel to uncover important and vital aspects in early Islamic history. Furthermore, it shows the significance of applying a sociological framework in analyzing such concepts in order to understand the forces at work, the scenery and the nature of cultural transmission. As to the study of this particular set of terms, it is evident that a fully appreciation of concepts such as these can only be achieved from studying the cultural inside.

The application of *khāṣṣa* and 'āmma in Kūfa was no doubt essential to the formation of the Islamic self-expression.

## NOTES

1. Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Adab as-saghir*, p. 13.
2. As such they were called *wuzarā'*, *umara'*, *umanā*, and *awṣiyā'*.
3. Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after Muslim Conquest*, p. 258.
4. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Majesty that was Islam*, p. 171.
5. Se for instance, the treatment of *al-qurrā'*, the so called 'quranreciters', in J-O Blichfeldt, *Early Mahdism*, p. 81ff.
6. At-Tabarī, *Tarikh ar-rusūl wa'l-mulūk*, I: 1930-1.
7. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 1962-3, and further up to p. 1980.
8. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī't-tārīkh*, II: 259.
9. *Al-Farā'id*, p. 170.
10. *wa-'rtaddat Ghataṭān 'illā mā kāna min 'ashdja' wa-khawāṣṣ min al-afnā* (=min 'afnā an-nās), At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 1871.
11. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 2849.
12. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 2845.
13. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 2849; also 2813, 2840, 2850.
14. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I: 3132-4.
15. At-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, II: 534.
16. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, V: 221.
17. *wa-innamā kāna hādhā rukhsatan lahū khaṣṣatan*, (Abū Da'ūd, *Sunan*, I: 238).
18. Al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām as-sultāniyya*, pp. 107-11.
19. R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 184.
20. The heterogeneous nature of this elite is reflected in the different terms used for its members, such as *wudjūh*, 'outstanding people' and *sulahā*, 'upright people'. In a historical perspective it is evident that these terms have their bases in the *da'wa* culture of the Quran.

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# Remarks on Poetical Functions of the Genitive in Some Northwestern Semitic Poetry

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Few syntactic relationships are as vague and elusive as the one between a noun and its genitival modifier. It is hardly possible to limitate its potential semantic functions to a few basic patterns. On the contrary, the very richness of varieties seems to be a true and elementary property of the genitive and different logical categorizations of the type of relationship will be simultaneously valid. During my studies of ancient Semitic poetry, I soon found that the poetical function of the genitive emerged as an independant phenomenon of importance and complexity. The following remarks are as yet somewhat preliminary but present essential qualities of the poetical genitive in a few selected texts from Hebrew, Ugaritic and Mandaic.

Syntactically, a genitival relationship in Semitic is characterized by the juxtaposition of two nouns, the second noun being the genitival modifier of the first one. The juxtaposition is obligatory and a number of rules defines the two terms as inseparable from each other. Even if analytic genitive markers are used, such as the *d* in Mandaic, this does not really alter the logical vicinity of the two terms of the construction.

In contrast to the severity of the word order, the semantic connection between the two terms is remarkably unstable and wide. The modifier preserves its status as a substantive, instead of changing into an adjective, and the two terms remain separate entities. If the modifier is abstract or denotes a quality, the noun may seem to fuse partly with the modifier, but in principle, the genitival relationship establishes a forced and temporary connection between two equally independant concepts. Furthermore, the semantic types that may potentially occur as nouns or as modifiers are probably innumerable, i.e., the genitival relationship itself does not generate patterns of combination. This vagueness in the construction acts as an encouragement towards semantic innovations. Since it is strongly at variance with the dense and economical word order, a contrast arises between the semantic and the syntactic levels of the construction and consequently, genitival relationships are always characterized by a dynamic tension.

More often than not, the genitival relationship contains a verbal potential: it denotes or connotes an action or an activity taking place and does so in a condensed or elliptic way. This is of course very clear when the noun is an infinitive or a participle and the genitive is used to express an action influencing an object or an action being carried out by an agent. But the genitival relationship has a potential of process or action which goes beyond that. Brooke-Rose says: "All Genitive relationships are activity relationships ..."<sup>1</sup> and: "This genitival or provenance relationship between the two nouns is essentially a verbal one ... the preposition *of* or whatever other link is used, stands for a verbal idea which can also be expressed verbally"<sup>2</sup>. The verbal potential is perhaps most easily discernable when the mod-

ifier is animate and preferably individual: an individ is always a potential agent and his relationship to the noun will be one of control – he possesses or masters or produces or whatever the noun. Relationships denoting place may also be rather obviously verbal, either because the existence of something in something else connotes an impression of movement, or because a part of the whole may form a hierarchical contrast similar to a relationship of possession.

On the syntacto-semantic level, relevant logical principles underlying different genitival constructions are discussed in a very stimulating way by Helmut Gätje in "Strukturen der Genitivverbindung: Untersuchungen am arabischen Genitiv". Gätje also refers to Reckendorf, who already in 1895 made his well-known attempt to structure genitival relationships in Arabic into corresponding sentence patterns<sup>3</sup>. Comparing Gätje's conclusions p. 72f. with the paragraph above, it would seem that genitival relationships with a /strong/ verbal potential at least roughly correspond to those falling into Gätje's logical category of "spezifischer ontologischer Relation", i.e., relationships in which the two terms do not assume "Teilidentität" but maintain a "limitativer Divärsität"<sup>4</sup>.

For the purpose of the present study, I shall also make use of a small group of opposites in order to establish a spatial orientation between the two terms of any genitival construction. Moving from syntax to semantics proper, I have found the following contrasts to be operative:

concrete	versus	abstract
animate	versus	inanimate
narrow	versus	wide

Both the noun and the modifier may be qualified by either of these concepts and all three bilinear pairs may be simultaneously applicable to one genitival construction.

To these pairs we shall add a fourth one:

vicinity	versus	distance
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This qualification is of a different character, since it does not describe the terms as such but the relationship between them. If the two terms belong to the same domain of thought and share the same qualifications, their relationship is one of vicinity, and if the terms are widely apart semantically, their relationship is one of distance.

Every conceivable genitival construction is of course not poetical. We want the poetical effect to be more specific and agreeable and somehow striking because it mixes the familiar with the unexpected. A poetical genitive is deliberately chosen by the poet for aesthetical reasons, whereas an abundance of genitives is produced merely in order to give information. Since these remarks deal with poetical functions, many general aspects of the genitive will not be considered any further<sup>5</sup>. At present, I also have to omit the interesting study of poetical genitives as part of the structure of the whole poem, since this would necessitate an extensive analysis of the poetry in question. Thus, the attention is focused on the poetics of the genitival relationships *per se*.

The material consists of the poetical texts of Isaiah, the Song of Deborah (Judges, ch. 5), part of the Keret legend and the short poem "Nikkal and the Kathirat" edited by Driver, and Lidzbarski's edition of "Mandäische Liturgien". The choice of material may seem arbitrary but could hardly be otherwise. However, there is quite a satisfying number of genitives in all the texts and the findings show a certain consistency. The corpus of genitives amounts to about 350 phrases, most of them from Isaiah. Constructions with pronominal suffixes as the second term are not included in this study, but it may be noted that such constructions are extremely frequent and of poetical importance. They have the same function as constructions with an animate modifying noun but the effect is weaker because of the shortness of the suffix and its weak semantic load. On the other hand, the suffix constructions occur more frequently, since it is easier to insert a suffix in a short line than to insert the more expansive noun. – More than 75% of the corpus belong to one of the three types of genitival relationships described below. The remaining examples are scattered among several other types, some of which are diffuse and others rather too conventional to be of interest, e.g. constructions with numerals.

### CONSTRUCTIONS WITH AN ANIMATE MODIFIER

The modifier is a person, an inanimate object personified, or a deity. This person or personification somehow dominates, controls or directs the noun. The poetical function generally is to increase the vivacity by creating an impression of verbal activity and to do this in a dynamical way because the relationship is expressed in the dense, economical construction of two juxtaposed terms. Secondary effects may be achieved depending on the semantic load of each specific construction.

In the song of Deborah, this acting modifier is often the name of a hero, a legendary person or someone of historical importance:

<i>bīmē šamgar bæn-⁹⁹nāt</i>	(In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the
<i>bīmē yā⁹ēl</i>	(Judg. 5:6)
<i>bipplaggōt r'ūbēn</i>	(For the divisions of Reuben there were great
<i>g⁹dōlīm h̄iq⁹qē-leb</i>	(thoughts of heart) (Judg. 5:15)
<i>t⁹bōrak minnāšim yā⁹ēl</i>	(blessed above women shall Jael the wife of heber
<i>'ešæt h̄æbær haqqēnī</i>	(the benite be) (Judg. 5:24)

The nouns of these constructions are common and neutral words. The phrase is coloured by the modifier which is specific and individual. All those names serve a main purpose of the song which is to glorify this event and its heroes in the history of Israel. The treatment of names is similar to the one in memorial inscriptions. Names of places are used analogously, to colour a neutral noun and to emphasize the historical importance of those places, making them "coagents" in the epos:

<i>b⁹ṣa⁹d⁹kā miššēdē '⁹dōm</i>	(when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom)
	(Judg. 5:4)

'āz nilḥ<sup>h</sup>mū malkē k<sup>h</sup>na<sup>g</sup>an (then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the  
b<sup>h</sup>ta qnāk qal-mē m<sup>h</sup>giddō waters of Megiddo) (Judg. 5:19)

A frequent device is to make deities appear as genitival modifiers. Not only do the gods in this way seem to perform as human agents in the mortal world – as indeed they usually do in all those texts – but the genitival construction forms a bridge between the material noun of this world and the god transcending from spiritual spheres:

..krt.māt	'What (ails)
krt.k ybky	'Keret that he weeps,
ymd <sup>h</sup> .ā'mn.ḡlm	'the gracious one, servitor of El, that he sheds tears?
ēl.mlk/J tr ābh	'Does he wish for the kingship
yārš hm. drkt	'of the bull his father or dominion
kāb.adm/.	'as (of) the father of mankind?' (Keret II 38-43)

Incidentally, we note that the first genitive in the passage is the second member of a climactically organized parallelism and that the second and third genitives balance each others as members of another parallelism; the phenomenon is important but outside the scope of this study, since it belongs to the structure of the poem.

The main theme in the passage is the weeping of Keret. The poet describes the weeping and asks for the reasons. The elaborate answer follows in a way vaguely parallelling the question. However, by using the genitive, the poet introduces a secondary theme, that of the acting god. The nouns of the genitival constructions apply to Keret himself: he is a "servitor" and he may demand a "kingship" or a "dominion". The genitival modifiers "El", "the bull your father", "the father of mankind" are not really necessary for the main course of events but they help to broaden the perspective, to vitalize and colour the image and to create the impression of yet another figure moving about in the narrative, this figure furthermore being as strong and powerful as a bull.

In Mandaic poetry, the combination of a noun from the material world with a modifier from the spiritual world is extraordinarily common and reflects gnostic principles of Mandaism. Here are two charming examples of a personified divine spirit:

pindur kuṣṭā	(die Zither der Kuṣṭā) (Li. 221)
zuadia kuṣṭā	(/die/ Reisezehrung der Kuṣṭā) (Li. 161)

The precise concreteness of the nouns produce a pregnant and intimate vision and supports the impression of an active modifier. All personifications, divine or not, serve to increase the vivacity of the image. Constructions such as the following are frequent in Mandaic poetry:

qalaiun d mia hiia	(die Stimme des lebenden Wassers) (Li. 187)
nṣibta d hiia	(die Pflanzung des Lebens) (Li. 219)
bit kukkia	(/das Haus/ der Sterne) (Li. 201)

bit tabia (/das Haus/ der Guten) (Li 197)

In the first examples, the modifiers are personifications of divine spirits or principles and the genitival relationship connects the material with the spiritual. In the last example, the modifying, plural/collective noun replaces an adjective and the construction corresponds to a noun + attribute: “the good house”. The use of persons instead of an adjective makes the expression more vivid; the scene is not blank and immovable as it would have been with an adjective but connotes a crowding of active individuals.

In the text of Isaiah, the conscious elaboration and the richness of vocabulary and rhetorical devices facilitate extensive variations of genitival constructions. To substitute a genitival modifier denoting individuals for an adjectival attribute is a beloved method and the effect is always one of increased activity and vivacity, a crowd of persons acting or moving:

zæra<sup>q</sup> m<sup>e</sup>rē<sup>q</sup>īm (a seed of evildoers) (Isa. 1:4)  
b<sup>e</sup>a<sup>r</sup>ea<sup>q</sup> hahayyīm (in the land of the living) (Isa. 38:11)

A special case is the type of construction “son of those”. The noun in this type has a very light semantic load and leads to the modifier which is broad and colourful:

bæn-ḥ<sup>a</sup>kāmīm (the son of the wize) (Isa. 19:11)  
bæn- malkē-qædæm (the son of ancient kings) (Isa. 19:11)

If the modifier is a single individual, the image appears to be at a closer range:

k<sup>e</sup>ṣīrē- yōledā (as the pangs of a woman who travaileth)  
(Isa. 21:3)

Numerous are the constructions in which God is the modifier, with a concrete or an abstract noun:

k<sup>e</sup>gan- Yhwh (like the garden of the LORD) (Isa. 31:3)  
ūk<sup>e</sup>bōd Yhwh (and the glory of the LORD) (Isa. 60:1)

An adjectival expression, e.g. “the divine glory”, could never give this vivid impression of an active God constantly and directly interfering with the destiny of man in the material world.

An intense degree of action is implied in the following metaphorical expressions with an inanimate modifier treated as animate:

hemā appō (the fury of his anger) (Isa. 42:25)  
wæ<sup>q</sup>wzūz milhāmā (and the strength of battle) (Isa. 42:25)

The constructions are very similar to corresponding verbal phrases such as “his fury is burning”; “the battle is raging”. These metaphors have become worn out after

centuries of use. In this ancient poetry, however, they are not frequent from the beginning, even if we occasionally meet early examples:

šd ddh (the fields of her love) (Nikkal. 23)

### CONSTRUCTIONS WITH AN ABSTRACT MODIFIER

This type is quite homogenous. The modifier is a noun categorically denoting a quality which might otherwise be expressed by an adjective. The verbal potential of this construction is small. The poetical function is defined by the opposite pairs listed above. Generally, there is a great difference historically with regard to its use. The type does not occur in the oldest texts examined here, the Ugaritic texts and the song of Deborah. In plain contrast to this, the type is abundant both in Isaiah and in Mandaic poetry. The modern reader will find it familiar and associate it with the Bible or any Christian text.

The most delightful of these constructions are some examples from Isaiah:

qaw-tōhū	(the line of confusion) (Isa. 34:11)
w <sup>c</sup> abnē-bōhū	(the stones of emptiness) (Isa. 34:11)
b <sup>c</sup> kūr ḥōnī	(in the furnace of affliction) (Isa. 48:10)
bigdē nāqām	(the garments of vengeance) (Isa. 59:17)
w <sup>c</sup> kōba <sup>q</sup> y <sup>e</sup> šū <sup>q</sup> ā	(and an helmet of salvation) (Isa. 59:17)

The poetical effect arises from a complex set of contrasts between the semantic loads of noun and modifier. The noun is concrete, narrow, very neat and precise, whereas the modifier is abstract and as wide as possible, since it denotes the category. Furthermore, the semantic domains of noun and modifier respectively are completely different from each other. The distance between the two terms is consequently extreme.

The construction is well established also in Mandaic poetry. However, due to a general poverty of vocabulary, it does not occur with the same poetical richness as in the Bible:

akla d ziua	(eine Keule des Glanzes) (Li. 185)
ainia d šiqra	(Augen der Lüge) (Li. 198)
baba d nhura	(das Tor des Lichtes) (Li. 193)
arpa d nhura	(dis Lichterde) (Li. 253)
alma d hašuka	(die Welt der Finsternis) (Li. 159)

When the categorical modifier is added to a less precise or even abstract noun, the dynamic contrasts between the two terms is considerably weakened:

yōm nāqām	(the day of ... vengeance) (Isa. 34:8)
ūl <sup>c</sup> rūah mišpāt	(and for a spirit of judgment) (Isa. 28:6)

## FRAGMENTARIZED CONSTRUCTIONS

The third type of genitival construction to be treated here is what I call the genitive of fragmentarization. In its purest form, it is easily identifiable and closely related to the rhetorical figures of metonymy and synecdoche. Fragmentarization means that a concept of thought is split up into two terms, the concept itself being transformed into a genitival modifier and the first term of the new construction produced out of the same or neighbouring semantic domain. The dynamics of this construction is not very strong, nor is there any apparent verbal potential. However, the image thus brought into existence is considerably more vivid than the original single noun:

'āz tippāqahnā ⁹ēnē ⁹iwrīm (then the *eyes of the blind* shall be opened, and *the w<sup>e</sup> 'oznē ḥeršīm* tippātahnā *ears of the deaf* shall be unstopped. Then shall the 'āz y<sup>e</sup>dalleg kā'ayyāl pisséah lame man leap as an hart, and *the tongue of the w<sup>e</sup>tārōn l'sōn 'illēm* dumb sing.) (Isa. 35:5-6)

The simple information conveyed is that the blind ones shall see, the deaf ones shall hear, the lame ones shall jump and the dumb ones shall talk. By fragmentarizing the subjects into “eyes of the blind”, “ears of the deaf” and “tongue of the dumb”, the attention is focused on the precise and detailed nouns which colour and vitalize the image. An artificial contrast is created between the noun and the modifier, a kind of partitive genitive, since the noun is narrower than the modifier and from the same semantic domain.

In Isaiah 34:6, a sacrifice of animals is dramatized by the separation of “blood” and “kidneys” from the larger concepts of the animals in question:

middam kārīm w<sup>c</sup>attūdīm (with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of meħelæb kilyōt 'ēlīm the kidneys of rams) (Isa. 34:6)

How vivid and precise is the image of treasures carried

⁹al-kætaep ⁹a:wārīm (upon the shoulders of young asses ...) w<sup>c</sup>al-dabbæšæt g<sup>e</sup>mallīm upon the bunches of camels) (Isa. 30:6)

Qualities may also be extracted. In the following examples, the negative impression is strengthened by fragmentarization:

g<sup>e</sup>'ōn zēdīm (the arrogance of the proud ...) w<sup>e</sup>ga<sup>a</sup>wat ⁹ārīšīm and the haughtiness of the terrible) (Isa. 13:11)

Compare also the fragmentarizations in the vivid scene depicted in the Song of Deborah:

⁹iqbē-sūs (the horsehoofs) (Judg. 5:22)  
pa<sup>a</sup>mē mark<sup>e</sup>bōtāw (the wheels of his chariot) (Judg. 5:28)

Frequently, fragmentarization is used to visualize a territory or an architectural space by focusing on one of its details:

b <sup>c</sup> ša <sup>q</sup> aře š <sup>c</sup> �l	(to the gates of the grave) (Isa. 38:10)
b <sup>c</sup> hašrōt qodšī	(in the courts of my holiness) (Isa. 62:9)

Similarly from the Keret legend:

'rb[.bzl.hmt]	(enter [the <i>shade of the tent</i> ])	(Keret Iii 12)
w{'l.lzr.[mg]dl.}rk	('Go up 'on to / <i>the top of</i> the tower').	
tkmm.hm[t].	'and mount <i>'the shoulder of the wall</i> )	
		(Keret Iii 21–22; p. 29, n. 14)

This detailed description is typical of the style of the poem: general and wide concepts are avoided, while narrow, precise and concrete concepts are richly used.

In the following similes, the mere mentioning of the goddesses' names would have been sufficient to connote the significances of "grace" and "fairness", but the elaboration lends colour to the images:

dk.n'm.'nt.n'mh	("whose grace (is) as the <i>grace of Anat</i>
km.tsm.'trt.ts[m]h	"(and) her fairness as the <i>fairness of Atkart</i> )
	(Keret Iiii 41 f)

From Mandaic poetry, we may note two examples of constructions with parts of the body:

b <sup>g</sup> uṣraihun � tarmidai	(im Sinne meiner Jünger) (Li. 198)
�udna � bhirai	(Ohr meiner Auserwählten) (Li. 218)

The following examples are typical of Mandaic liturgical vocabulary and perhaps best regarded as borderline cases; the "radiance" is an inherent quality of those "wells" and this "staff":

ziuaihin � ainaniata	(der Glanz der Quellen) (Li. 236)
ziuh � margna	
� manda � hiia	(/der/ Glanz des Stabes des M.) (Li. 238)

## THE GENITIVE OF MATERIAL

Finally, I shall make two brief comments on constructions with a genitival modifier denoting the material of the noun. These constructions are very common. Prepositions are often used instead of the syntactic genitive. Closely resembling genitive

constructions are prepositional phrases used as nominal predicates or, rarely, as adverbs or objects of verbs of change.

First, this type of genitive may function as a fragmentarization:

.ēb.ēqnē. sp. trml.	(gems of sapphire bowls of onyx (?) (Keret I iii 43 f.)
.ālp ksp.wrbt h~rs.	(a thousand (pieces) <sup>II</sup> of silver and ten thousand (pieces) of gold.) (Nikkal ... 20 f.)

The examples show the expected preference for an abundance of concrete details.

Secondly and more important, there is a similarity between the genitive of material and genitives with an abstract modifier. There is the same ability to produce striking contrasts between noun and modifier and of connecting two different concepts in an unexpected and delightful way. Although much – and sometimes most – of the poetical effect is derived from the semantic load itself, some of the effect is liable to arise from the linking of the two terms to each other.

In the following example, the effect is produced by the distance between the semantic loads: the noun denotes something which is heavy, concrete, thick and metallic, whereas the modifier has rather an abstract quality of radiance, colour and lightness:

šušlatah d nura	(die Ketten des Feuers) (Li. 259)
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The examples below are mixed: noun + genitival modifier, noun + prepositional phrase, subject or object noun + nominal predicate. The poetical function of all of them is derived from two precise, narrow, concrete terms unexpectedly connected into one image:

k <sup>e</sup> mar midd <sup>e</sup> lī	(as a drop of a bucket ...)
ūk <sup>e</sup> shāhq m <sup>e</sup> oznayim	as the small dust of the balance) (Isa. 40:15)
k <sup>e</sup> sukkā b <sup>e</sup> kārəm	(as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge)
kimlūnā b <sup>e</sup> miqšā	(in a garden of cucumbers) (Isa. 1:8)
w <sup>e</sup> gīd barzāl ḥorpækā	(thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy
ūmish <sup>a</sup> kā n <sup>e</sup> ḥūšā	brow brass) (Isa. 48:4)
w <sup>e</sup> kitt <sup>e</sup> tū ḥarbötām l <sup>e</sup> ittim	(and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
wah <sup>a</sup> nītōtēhām l <sup>e</sup> mazmerōt	and their spears into pruninghooks) (Isa. 2:4)

## NOTES

- Brooke-Rose p. 149.
- ibid. p. 147.
- Reckendorf, "Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse ..."
- Gätje, "Strukturen ..." p. 72 f.
- Cf e.g. M. M. Bravmann, "Genetic Aspects of the Genitive in the Semitic Languages" in "Journal of the American Oriental Society" 81, pp. 386–394. New Haven, Conn. 1961; K. Eksell Harning, "The Analytic Genitive in the Modern Arabic Dialects". Göteborg 1980, especially pp. 161–166 and for an attempt to apply some of my theories to a non-Arabic Semitic material, see W. Diem, "Alienable

und inalienable relation im Semitischen" in "Proceedings of the fourth international Hamito-Semitic congress" Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1987. = Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 44.

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# Über einige hebräische Verben des Sprechens – Etymologie und Metapher

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Im Althebräischen gibt es offensichtlich viele Verben des Sprechens, deren hinterliegende Idee es ist, einen Begriff besonders zu veranschaulichen. Dieser Artikel wird kurz einige Verben für, ‚sagen‘, ‚reden‘ und ‚vermelden‘ erörtern. Dabei werden vorzugsweise zwei Bilder erkennbar werden: das eine ist, daß man beim Sprechen etwas erklärt oder hervorbringt, d.h. daß man etwas »hell und klar macht« bzw. »es jemandem hoch und deutlich hinstellt«; das andere ist, daß das Reden wie ein fließender Strom gemalt wird.

Ein Wörterbuch ist eine unerschöpfliche Sammlung von Bildern – und etwas anderes ist nicht zu erwarten –, denn jede neue Vorstellung verlagt ihren Namen; und wenn sie einem anderen Menschen begreiflich gemacht werden soll, muß man ihre Natur durch einen Vergleich mit etwas schon Bekanntem andeuten.<sup>1</sup> In dieser Weise werden immer neue Wörter gebildet. Meistens handelt es sich um Zusammensetzungen aber auch einfache Wörter werden metaphorisch benutzt und bekommen damit eine mehr oder weniger feste Bedeutung, die ins Wörterbuch einzuführen ist. Hier birgt sich indessen ein sprachwissenschaftliches Problem, denn offensbare Metaphern gehören zur Stilistik, während erblaßte schon Teil der Etymologie eines Wortes geworden sind.<sup>2</sup>

Wenn im folgenden die Etymologie einiger Verben des Sprechens diskutiert wird – und dabei auch einer Anzahl mehr oder weniger erblaßter Metaphern für die Rede –, so ist der Zweck hiermit nachzuweisen, daß eine noch lebendige Metapher ein gewisses Licht über noch unklare Etymologien werfen mag, und daß sogar durch dieses Verfahren einer gewissen Etymologie vor einer anderen der Vorzug gegeben werden kann.

Das Verb *'āmar*, das gewöhnlichste für ‚sagen‘ im Althebräischen hat – wie das akkadische *amāru* ‚sehen‘ und das äthiopische *'ammara* ‚zeigen‘ beweisen – offenbar anfänglich einen Sinn gehabt, der dem deutschen ‚klar machen‘ ganz nahe kommt. Nach W. Leslau<sup>3</sup> ist Dillmann (*Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, 1865) der erste, der die gemeinsemitische Wurzel *'mr* auf die Bedeutung ‚hell, klar sein‘, ‚sichtlich, deutlich sein‘ > ‚deutlich machen‘, ‚zeigen‘, ‚sagen‘, zurückführt.<sup>4</sup> Ein ähnliches Verhältnis bietet *hibbūt* ‚blicken‘, das mit akkadisch *nabātu* ‚aufleuchten, strahlen‘ und ugaritisch *nb!* ‚erscheinen‘ zu vergleichen ist. Dasselbe gilt auch für hebr. *bē'er* ‚deutlich machen‘, was denselben Sinn wie das entsprechende akkadische *bāru* ‚in Erscheinung treten‘ im D-stamm hat. Eine Parallele gewährt tatsächlich auch das lateinische *dīcere* ‚sagen‘, was ursprünglich »point out« bedeutet hat, ein Sinn, der in *index*, *indicāre* bewahrt ist.<sup>5</sup> Ein Zeugnis eines derartigen Ursprungs des Verbs *'āmar* ist, daß beim Gebrauch dieses Verbs eher eine Rücksicht auf den Inhalt des Gesagten als auf die Tätigkeit des Sprechens erkennbar ist. Dies ergibt sich u.a. daraus, daß *'āmar* sehr oft, ein wenig pleonastisch, mit *dibbāer* ‚reden‘ zusammengestellt ist, und zwar, um den Anfang der Aussage, in

direkter oder indirekter Rede, zu bezeichnen. Also heißt es *waydabber...* *wayyō'mær* und *waydabber...lēmōr* 'er redete...und sagte' bzw. 'er redete ... also'; und in ähnlicher Weise begegnet es nach Verben wie *qārā'* 'rufen', '*ānā* 'antworten', *higgid* 'mitteilen', *šā'al* 'fragen' und *ṣiwwā* 'befehlen'. Nie bedeutet *'āmar* 'sagen' ohne Angabe des Mitgeteilten (HAL).<sup>6</sup>

Es gibt also einen Unterschied zwischen *'āmar* und *dibbær*, nämlich daß bei *'āmar* das, was gesagt wird gewöhnlicherweise folgt, was bei *dibbær* gar nicht notwendig ist. Derselbe Unterschied zwischen Verben, die die Tätigkeit des Sprechens hervorheben, und denjenigen, die eher das Resultat des Sprechens als die Tätigkeit bezeichnen, begegnet uns in verschiedenen Sprachen, z.B. griechisch *λαλεῖν* und *λέγειν*, lateinisch *loquī* und *dicere*, englisch *speak* und *say* und deutsch *reden* und *sagen*. Es gibt aber, auch wenn diese Aufteilung im großen und ganzen zutrifft, einige Verben, die teilweise beide Sinne decken, wie z.B. sprechen, welches Verb zu Luthers Zeit oft bei direkter und indirekter Rede verwendet wurde.<sup>7</sup>

Bei *sippær* 'berichten, erzählen' ist die Bedeutung 'abzählen' (im Qal sogar 'zählen') völlig lebendig; vgl. englisch *count* und *recount*. Es ist indessen von gewissem Interesse zu bemerken, daß das Erzählen auf hebräisch eigentlich ein Abzählen der verschiedenen Einzelheiten eines Hergangs bezeichnet.

Ein weiteres Verb des Sprechens ist '*ānāl* 'antworten'. Die etymologischen Verhältnisse sind hier recht schwierig. Im Hinblick auf die vier verschiedenen Wurzeln '*nh*' in HAL, ist jedoch behauptet worden, daß nur '*nh*<sup>II</sup>' 'elend sein' völlig homonym sei.<sup>8</sup> Es bleibt aber sehr unsicher, ob '*nh*<sup>I</sup>' 'antworten' und '*nh*<sup>III</sup>' 'sich beschäftigen' (nur beim Prediger) letzten Endes zusammengehört. Betreffs '*nh*<sup>IV</sup>' 'singen', scheint es zwar, als ob die Belegstellen eher auf ein 'gegeneinander singen', als auf ein 'singen' schlechthin deuten – außerdem fehlt ein entsprechendes *ǵny* im Ugaritischen – Indizien, die uns aber nicht zu einem Absehen vom Arabischen *ǵannā* und Syrischen '*anni*', beide 'singen', bringen sollen. – Die unterliegende Vorstellung bei '*nh*<sup>I</sup>' ist offensichtlich 'sich umwenden, sich wenden zu'; so HAL mit Hinweis auf akkadisch '*enū* 'umwenden, ändern' und sogar ägyptisch '*n(n)* 'umkehren'. Es ist behauptet worden, daß ein umfassenderer Sinn von '*nh*<sup>I</sup>' im Bereich von 'reagieren' zu suchen sei, was sich u.a. aus der Wendung '*ēn* 'ōnā' 'eine Reaktion gab es nicht', ergäbe (vgl. Ri. 19:28, 1. Sam. 14:39, 1. Kön. 18:26,29).<sup>9</sup>

Für die Verben des Sprechens '*mr*, *spr*, '*nh*' sind also verschiedene Grundbedeutungen erkennbar, d.h. 'klar machen', 'abzählen' und 'sich wenden'. Wie verhält es sich denn mit *higgid* 'vermelden, mitteilen'? Bevor wir fortfahren, wollen wir uns ein wenig mit einigen metaphorischen Verben für 'sprechen' beschäftigen. In diesen tritt die übertragene Bedeutung noch zusätzlich zur ursprünglichen 'fließen' hinzu. Zuerst *nāṭaf* 'triefen', wo Hif'il in acht Fällen von neun im AT den übertragenen Sinn 'Worte triefen lassen' bietet, z.B. im Am. 7:16 *lō' taṭif* 'al bēt *Yiśhāq* 'prophezeie nicht wider das Haus Isaak!' (vgl. Mi. 2:6 *tres*, 11 *bis*, Hes. 21:2,7).<sup>10</sup> In gleicher Weise wird *nāba'* 'sprudeln' – wie in *naḥal nōbēa'* 'ein sprudelnder Bach' Spr. 18:4 – im Hif'il metaphorisch im Hinblick auf das Sprechen benutzt (vgl. Ps. 59:8, 94:4 'mit dem Munde hervorquellen lassen'; Ps. 19:3, 145:7 'kundtun'; Ps. 78:2, 119:171, Spr. 15: 2,28 'aussprechen'; Pred. 10:11 übertr. von

‘gären lassen’ – nur in Spr. 1:23 *’abbiā lākām rūhī* ‘ich will über euch strömen lassen meinen Geist’ kaum metaphorisch).<sup>11</sup> Ähnlich *rāhaš* ‘wimmen, brodeln’, nur in Ps. 45:2 belegt: *rāhaš libbī dābār ṭōb* ‘mein Herz siedet vor gutem Wort’,<sup>12</sup> wo das Bild eher Bezug auf den Strom des in Worten gekleideten Gedankens hat als auf die Bewegung der Lippen, auch wenn *rḥš* in nachbiblischer Zeit in solchen Wendungen vorkommt.<sup>13</sup> Weiter mag *nāzal* ‘rinnen’<sup>14</sup> angeführt werden; von den 18 Belegstellen sind jedenfalls zwei metaphorisch: Deut. 32:2 *tizzal kattal ’imrātī* ‘meine Rede riesele wie Tau’ und HL. 4:16 *yizzalū bāšāmāw* ‘der Duft seiner Gewürze ströme’.<sup>15</sup> Eine arabische Analogie findet sich überdies in *saffāh* ‘shedder of much blood’, und auch ‘fluent in speech’.<sup>16</sup>

Kehren wir jetzt zu *higgid* zurück, scheint es, als wäre die Etymologie nicht abgeklärt worden. Gewöhnlich schlagen Lexika eine Grundbedeutung wie etwa »eine Sache hoch und deutlich vor jmd hinstellen« vor<sup>17</sup> – und haben wohl dann arabisch *nağada /u/* ‘was, or became, apparent, manifest, conspicuous, or plain’ und *nağd-* ‘high, or elevated, land or country’ im Sinn;<sup>18</sup> oder es wird eher an hebr. *nægæd* (eigentlich) ‘das Gegenüber’ gedacht, weshalb also »jmd mit etwas konfrontieren« vorgeschlagen wird. Für die erstere Nuance spricht u.a. die Wendung *hæ<sup>a</sup>rik millīn* (in Hiob) ‘Worte aufreihen’, auch elliptisch, ohne Objekt, vorkommend (vgl. BDB s.v. ‘rk 1f), für die letztere – wenn man *nægæd* eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung, ‘Vorderseite, Gesicht’ zuschreibt<sup>19</sup> – die Tatsache, daß viele *verba denominativa* von Worten für Körperteile gebildet sind (*hæ<sup>a</sup>zīn* ‘hören’ – *’ozān* ‘Ohr’, *’ānef* ‘zürnen’ – *’af* ‘Nase’).<sup>20</sup> Es ist jedoch völlig möglich, *higgid* (*ngd*) vom gemeinsemitischen *ngd* ziehen, führen’ abzuleiten: syrisch *nəgad /el pə/* ‘ziehen, führen’, *nāgōdā* ‘Führer’, jüd. – aramäisch ‘ziehen, leiten; nachfolgen’ und auch ‘fließen’ (von Honig),<sup>21</sup> äthiopisch *nagada* ‘go on a journey, travel; travel on business, trade, go on pilgrimage, go abroad’.<sup>22</sup> Offenbar ist dies auch die Ansicht von Jean-Hoftijzer (DISO), denn hier wird das Reichsaramäische Qal *ptc pass ngjd* ‘decrit, rapporté’ der Wurzel *ngd* = ‘trainer’ zugeteilt, während *ngdj* ‘officier’ (Sefire III 10) von einem homonymen *ngd* abgeleitet wird.<sup>23</sup> So können wir also vielleicht für *higgid* eine Entwicklung ‘ziehen, führen’ > ‘anführen, vorbringen, berichten’ ansetzen.<sup>24</sup>

Wenn möglicherweise bei *higgid* im entfernten ein Bild vom Vorbringen der Worte (oder des Wortschwalles) erkennbar ist, wie verhält es sich mit *dibbær* ‘reden’? Dieses Verb bezeichnet, wie oben gesagt wurde, die Rede als solche und nicht in besonders hohem Grade den gedanklichen Inhalt des Geredeten. Deshalb könnte man sich denken, daß etymologisch mit einer ursprünglich mehr oder weniger lautmalenden Beschreibung der Rede zu rechnen wäre, wie etwa griechisch *λαλεῖν* klassisch ‘plaudern’, aber später ‘reden’, und russisch *governit* ‘speak’ mit altkirchenlawisch *gororiti* ‘Lärm machen’ zu vergleichen.<sup>25</sup> In dieser Weise leitet HAL, zwar mit Vorbehalt, *dbr<sup>II</sup>* ‘reden’ von lautmalendem ‘summen’ ab, vgl. *dəbōrā* ‘Biene’. Unter *dbr<sup>I</sup>* dagegen werden arabisch *dabara* ‘hinten sein, IV ‘den Rücken (*dubr-*) kehren’, und das gemeinaramäische *dbr* ‘führen, treiben’ gestellt. Andere Lösungsvorschläge fehlen allerdings nicht. Zu nennen ist z.B. der von G. Gerleman, nämlich daß *dbr* ‘reden’ – nur im Nordwestsemitischen belegt – eigentlich eine Analogiebildung zu *’mr* sei, und infolgedessen nur *db* etymologisch tragend wäre. Folglich hätten wir dann einen etymologischen Zusammenhang zwischen hebr. *dibbær* und akkadisch *dabābu* ‘sprechen, reden’, eine Wurzel, die

im AT sonst nur in *dibbā* ‘Nachrede’ erkennbar ist.<sup>26</sup> Einem anderen Vorschlag nach ist *dibbær* ‘reden’ auf die Vorstellung ‘treiben’ zurückzuführen, also »Worte treiben, aufeinander folgen lassen« (Gesenius-Buhl).<sup>27</sup> Eine gemeinsame Grundbedeutung von *dbr* = ‘treiben’ erklärt zwar völlig nur den aramäischen Gebrauch: syrisch *dabar* ‘leiten, führen’, *dābōrā* ‘Führer’, *dabrā* ‘(öffenes) Land’ im Gegensatz zu ‘Stadt’, und teilweise auch den hebräischen: *midbār* ‘Steppe, Weideland’ (also wo das Vieh getrieben wird). Jedoch ist, sowohl im Hinblick auf arabisch *dabbara l-ḥadīta* ‘he related the tradition, narrative, or story’ (Lane), als auch auf *dabbara* im Sinne von ‘mit Vorbedacht anordnen, ins Werk setzen’ die Grundidee von etwa ‘weggehen lassen’ (vgl. BDB s.v.) durchaus möglich.<sup>28</sup> Die unterliegende Vorstellung im Bezug auf *dibbær* ‘reden’ wäre dann, daß der Wortschwall vom Munde ausgeht, wie eine Herde, die aufs Weideland getrieben wird. So gibt es bei *dibbær* vielleicht ein Bild von etwas Ausgehendem – nicht notwendigerweise von hinten nach vorne<sup>29</sup> –, sondern etwas, das in geordneter Folge hervorkommt,<sup>30</sup> zum Unterschied von der unartikulierten Rede.<sup>31</sup>

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, daß die hebräischen Verben für ‘sagen’, ‘mitteilen’, ‘reden’, bzw. *'āmar*, *higgīd*, *dibbær* auf verschiedene Ideen zurückzuführen sind. Bei *'āmar* handelt es sich offensichtlich um ein etwaiges, anschaulich machen’; bei *higgīd* vielleicht um ‘anführen’ (also nicht etwa ‘überragen’); bei *dibbær* vielleicht um ‘Worte ordnen’ oder ‘herausgehen lassen’ (also nicht von einem lautmalenden ‘summen’ oder von einer Verwandtschaft mit akkadisch *dabābu* abzuleiten). In den beiden letzteren Fällen wird die Vermutung von im Althebräischen vorkommenden Metaphern für das Sprechen in der Form von etwas Hervorfließendem (*ntp*, *nb'*, *nzl*) unterstützt.

## ANMERKUNGEN

1. Vgl. E. Tegnér, Språkets makt över tanken, Stockholm 1880, S. 116f.
2. Vgl. J. Lyons, Semantics 2, Cambridge 1977, S. 548ff.
3. W. Leslau, Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez, Wiesbaden 1987, s.v.
4. Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag F. Rundgrens, Hebräisch *bäsär* »Golderz« und *'āmar* »sagen«, Zwei Etymologien, Orientalia, 32, 1963, S. 178–183. Für Literatur, siehe F. A. Dombrowski, ZDMG, 134, 1984, S. Fußnote 41.
5. Vgl. C. D. Buck, A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages, Chicago 1949, S. 1247.
6. Siehe den ausführlichen Artikel *'āmar* von E. Wagner in ThWAT.
7. Vgl. Buck, *op.cit.* 1253.
8. Siehe F. J. Stendebach, ‘ānā’ in ThWAT.
9. Vgl. C. J. Labuschagne *'nh'* antworten, in THAT.
10. Siehe ferner syrisch *nṣaf* ‘träufen’, *tūftā* ‘Tropfen’, hebr. *nṣifot* ‘Ohrgehänge’.
11. Die Grundbedeutung ‘sprudeln’ geht u.a. aus dem arabischen *naba'a* ‘sprudeln’ (~*nabāga*; nābiğ- = talentiert) äthiopisch *'anbə'a* ‘weinen’, akkadisch *namba'u* ‘Quelle’ hervor.
12. Man übersetzt gewöhnlich ‘bewegt sich’, siehe GesB s.v. und M. Jastrow, Dictionary of the Targumim..., New York 1903.
13. Meine Vermutung wird jedoch von *marḥešət* ‘Kochtopf’, Lev. 7:9, gestützt.
14. Vgl. arabisch *nazala* ‘hinabsteigen’
15. Qal ptc pl *nōzālim* ‘Bäche, Rinsale’.
16. Vgl. J. L. Palache, Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon, hrsg. von R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, Leiden 1955, S. 46f.
17. Siehe HAL.

18. Vgl. sowohl GesB, BDB als auch E. König, Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Leipzig 1936, und C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, Halis Saxonum 1928.
19. Vgl. F. García-López, *ngd* in ThWAT.
20. Ferner *rāgal* ‘als Verleumder herumlaufen – *rægæl* ‘Fuß’, *nilbab* ‘Einsicht gewinnen’, *libbeb* ‘jmd des Verstandes berauben’ – *leb* ‘Herz’, und *bērak* ‘segnen’ – *birkayim* ‘Knie’ (vgl. hierzu Rundgren, Das Wort für »segnen« im Althebräischen, *Linguistica et Philologica, Gedenkschrift für B. Collinder*, hrsg. von O. Gschwantler, K. Rédei & H. Reichert (*Philologica Germanica Bd. 6*), Wien 1986, S. 391–396). Siehe übrigens W. J. Gerber, Die hebräischen Verba denominativa, Leipzig 1896.
21. *n̄gad* = ‘fließen’ in Dan 7:10 *n̄har dī n̄gad* ist kaum zu verteidigen, denn hier wird das Fließen im Grunde nur durch Ziehen, die eigentliche Bedeutung von *ngd*, ausgedrückt; vgl. Th. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Straßburg 1910, S. 197f. Außerdem ist arabisch *nuğida* ‘schwitzen’ eher von ‘bedrückt sein, hilfebedürfig sein’ abzuleiten.
22. Leslau, *op cit.*
23. Übrigens ist die Lesung *ngdj* zugunsten eines *ngrj* in Frage gestellt, vgl. G. F. Hasel, *ngyd* in ThWAT.
24. Man bemerke indessen, daß viele der behandelten Verben *primæ nūn* sind, weshalb die Möglichkeit erwogen werden könnte, daß *nūn* in einem der Fälle als Wurzelaugment aufzufassen wäre (vgl. W. von Soden, *n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen, in Bibel und Alter Orient, hrsg. von H.-P. Müller, Berlin 1985, s. 109–121). Folglich könnte *ntp* mit nachbiblischem *tiftef* ‘tropfen’, syrisch *taf/ūl* ‘float, overflow’ und arabischem *tūfān-* ‘Flut, Überschwemmung’ zusammengestellt werden (vgl. W. A. Ward, Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots, Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Bd. 95, 1969, S. 65–72.); desgleichen vielleicht auch *higgid* mit *gdd* ‘einschneiden’, wo das *tertium comparationis* arabisch *qaṣṣa/lu* ‘abschneiden’ und *qīṣat-* ‘Erzählung, Geschichte’ ist.
25. Siehe Buck, *op cit.* S. 1256.
26. G. Gerleman, *dābār* ‘Wort’ in ThWAT und W. H. Schmidt *dbr* (Wurzel) in ThWAT.
27. Siehe auch Th. Plassmann, Notes on the Stem d-b-r, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 4, 1942, S. 119–132.
28. Das hebräische *hidbir* ‘unterjochen’, Ps. 18:48, 47:4, in beiden Fällen mit *tahat*, ist wohl anfänglich ‘zusammentreiben unter jmd’ (wäre nach I. Eitan, A. Contribution to Biblical Lexiography, New York 1924, S. 33f., vielmehr mit »to cause somebody to bend his back« – vgl. arabisch *dub(u)r* – zu übersetzen).
29. Die Ansicht T. Bomans, Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen, 51968, S. 52.
30. Nach Buck, *op cit.* S. 1257, ist die indoeuropäische Wurzel *sekʷ-* in Wörtern für ‘sagen, erzählen’, z.B. lateinisch *īnseco / īsequo* – letzten Endes dieselbe wie die Wurzel *sekʷ* in Wörtern für ‘folgen’, lateinisch *sequor*.
31. Vgl. *lāaz* ‘unverständlich reden’, *sāhal* ‘wiehern’, *sāwah*, *sārah* ‘schreien’ und *lāħas* ‘flüstern’.

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# *De Karaitis Lithuaniae*: Transcriptions of Recited Biblical Texts, Description of the Pronunciation Tradition, and Peculiarities of Shewa\*

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The early history of the Karaite movement has evoked lively attention among scholars. Since the middle of the last century P.F. Frankl, A. Harkavy, Samuel Poznanski, R. Mahler, Jacob Mann, Leon Nemoy, Zvi Ankori and many others have contributed to this field of research in a significant way. A number of new discoveries as well as some other issues (the controversy over Abraham Firkovitsh, the Cairo Genizah, the Damascus Document as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Aleppo Codex, dissident views on the origin of East European Jewry) have revitalized interest in the Golden Era of Karaism up until the 12th or 13th century. In contrast to this focus on early history, the more recent periods have received less attention, and the present condition of the Karaites as well as their cultural and religious activities lack adequate, up-to-date descriptions.

Although the founder of the Karaite movement, 'Anan ben David, wrote his *Sefer ham-Mišwot* in Aramaic in the end of the 8th century in Mesopotamia, Arabic and Hebrew have been the literary languages of the Karaites since the beginning of the 9th century. While Arabic was replaced by Hebrew and Greek (and, later on, by Turkish) among the Karaites in the Byzantine Empire, Hebrew has always retained its status as the language of the Bible recitation. Alongside of the Hebrew text, vernacular translations of the type of *targum* have been used in order to render the Biblical texts comprehensible to the congregations.<sup>1</sup>

## KARAITES TODAY

Despite its spiritual power, the Karaism has never drawn large crowds into its realm. According to the estimates of Zvi Ankori, the total figure of Karaite residents in the Byzantine Empire at the end of the 11th century was 8500, i.e. approximately ten percent of all Byzantine Jewry. The data available for the Near East also leads to the conclusion that the number of Karaites has never amounted to more than some tens of thousand.<sup>2</sup>

\* A version of this article was read in the *Nordiska semitistsymposiet på Kivik 16–18 aug. 1990*; our jubilant, Prof. Gösta Vitestam has been the *primus motor* and main organizer of the first Nordic Semitist meetings in his native summer town Kivik.

Exactly 300 years ago the first Nordic publications with the Karaites as their topics were published: the travel account of Gustaf Peringer (*Lillieblad*) *Epistola de Karaitis Lithuaniae* was printed by Wilhelm Ernst Tenzel in the periodical *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger Guten Freunde* in Leipzig in July, 1691 (p. 572–575), and the *magister* thesis *Bihæresium verporum, Sive De duabus nostri temporis Judæorum sectis Rabbanitis scil. & Karraëis Dissertatio Philologica*, sub directione M. Simonis Paulini, submissa á Severinus Riisberg was presented at the Academy of Turku (Åbo) in September 9, 1691.

At present, the Karaites can be divided into two groups on the basis of their spoken language: (1) Arabic has been the vernacular of the Karaites living in the Near East where, in addition to Israel, Cairo in Egypt and Hīt in Iraq were their last centres in this century; (2) in Turkey and Eastern Europe the Karaite population has spoken Turkic languages, Turkish and Karaite (also called Karaim). The first group consists of 12,000 members in Israel where Ramle is their capital city; the majority of them are emigrants from Egypt. In 1979 there were 40 Karaites left in Cairo, the other communities in the Near and Middle East having vanished. In Turkey the number of Karaites does not exceed 120-140, of which approx. 90 persons are members of the Istanbul community; the community possesses the only *zeneza* of the country in Hasköy.<sup>3</sup>

The East European Karaites live in the Soviet Union and Poland; their native language, Karaite (Karaim) is a member of the Kipčak-Polovetsian group of Turkic languages.<sup>4</sup> According to the official census of 1979, there were 3,341 Karaites in the Soviet Union. However, only 16 % of them claimed the Karaite (Karaim) language as their mother tongue (*rodnoj jazyk*). In the Taryby Lietuvos enciklopedija (Vilnius 1986) Romualdas Firkovičius gives 352 as the number of Karaites in Lithuania in 1979 and approx. 600 as the number of speakers of the Karaite language (incl. Crimean Karaite Krimtchak) in the U.S.S.R. Of the speakers, 258 lived in Lithuania in 1979. The number of Karaites in the Crimea was 1,151 according to the 1979 census.<sup>5</sup> Twenty years earlier, in 1959, the official census had listed 5,700 as the total number of Karaites in the whole Soviet Union. If these official statistics are correct, the assimilation has taken place extremely rapidly.

In the Soviet Union the Karaites have lived in three main areas: (1) in the cities Feodosia, Eupatoria, Bakhchisarai (Chufut-Kale) and Staryi Krym in the Crimea, (2) in Luck (Łuck) and Galich (Halicz)<sup>6</sup> now in the Ukrainian SSR, and (3) in the Lithuanian cities Vilnius (Vilna), Trakai (Troki, Troch) and Panevėžys (Poniewież). In Poland the number of Karaites does not exceed two hundred.<sup>7</sup>

## KARAITE HEBREW

The living pronunciation traditions of Karaites have received rather little attention.<sup>8</sup> The Catalogue of the Recordings in the Tape-Archives in the Institute of Jewish Studies of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (The Language Traditions Project)<sup>9</sup> includes no more than eight specimens of Karaite Hebrew: four of them are of Egyptian and Iraqi origin, two from Trakai (Troki), Lithuania, and two others from Halicz.<sup>10</sup> The director of Research of the Project, Prof. Shlomo Morag, has been kind enough to place these East European recordings at my disposal.

As far as I know, the most recent article which – quite tangentially – deals with the East European Karaite Hebrew is “Lešon Qedar” – netunim lešoniyyim ‘al moşa haq-qara’im we-toldotehem bi-Qrim u-b-Mizrah Eropa” published by Wolf Moskowitch and Boris Tukan in 1981.<sup>11</sup> Moše Altbauer’s article “Al ha-‘ibrit šeb-be-pi qara’e Lita we-‘al ha-ysodot ha-‘ibriyyim šeb-bi-lšonam” which already appeared in Lěšonénu in 1957 and 1958<sup>12</sup> is still the main source in this field. The linguistic material used by Moskowitch and Tukan goes back primarily to the article by Altbauer. This, in turn, is based largely on the texts and glossaries published by

Tadeusz Kowalski in his book Karaïmische Texte im Dialekt von Troki which appeared in Cracow in 1929.<sup>13</sup>

During my stay in Vilnius in October 1988 I recorded a number of specimens of Karaite Hebrew as well as translations of Biblical texts into the Karaite language recited by Mr. Mikhael Firkovitsh, a member of the famous Firkovitsh family. Mr. Firkovitsh (born in 1933, engineer, High School of Structural Engineering in Vilnius) as well as his wife, Mrs. Halina Kobeckaitė, were born in Trakai; both of them are leading personalities of the Lithuanian Karaite community. Lithuanian and Karaite (as well as Russian) are the languages spoken at the home.<sup>14</sup> My recordings include parts of Gen 22 and Gen 1, as well as some verses of Amos and Psalms, all of which constitute a cycle of prayers. The story of the offering of Isaac was selected by me to be read, since the recordings of The Language Traditions Project in Jerusalem mentioned above also include Gen 22.

#### TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RECORDINGS READ BY MR. FIRKOVITSH<sup>15</sup>

##### *Gen. 22 (a), read without recitation*

va-yhí axár had-đevarím ha-éñle va-ya-ełohím níssá ēT-avrahám vay-yómer eláv avrahám vay-yómer hiñnéni vay-yómer kax-ná ēt biñexá ēt-yəxídexá ašér ahávt a ēt yicxák ve-léx lexá 'el érec ham-mōriyyá va-ya.aléyú šám lo-otá ał axád ye-yráim ašér omál (!) ēléxa vay-yaškém avrahám bab-bóqer vay-yaxabóš (!) ēt xamōrō vay-yikkáx ēf šené na.aráv ittō ve-ét yicxáK benó vay-yevaqqá aćé olá vay-yáqam (!) vay-yélex el ham-makóm ašér āmár to ya-ełohím

bay-yóm haš-šeñí vay-yissá avrahám ēf enáv vay-yár ēT ham-makóm rme-raxóq vay-yómer avrahám el na.aráv ševú łaxém po im ya-xamōr va-añí va-yan-ná.ar neñlexá ad-kó ve-niñtaxavé ve-našúva ałexém vay-yikkáx avrahám ēt aćé ya-olá vay-yášem ał-yicxáK benó vay-yikkáx be-yadó ēt-ha-éš ve-ēT-ham-ma.axélet vay-yelexú šeñehém yaydáv vay-yómer yicxák el avrahám aví vay-yómer aví vay-yómer hiñnéni beñí vay-yómer hiñné ya-éš va-ha-ećím va-ayyé haś-sé lo-olá vay-yómer avrahám ełohím yir'é ló yaś-sé lo-olá beñí vay-yelexú šeñehém yaydáv vay-yavó.ū ēl ham-makóm ašér āmár ló ya-ełohím vay-yíven šám avrahám ēT-yañ-mizbéax vay-ya.aróx ēt ya-ećím vay-ya'akóT ēt yicxáK benó vay-yášem otó ał hañ-mizbéax mím-má.ał la-ećím vay-yiñláp avrahám ēt-yadó vay-yikkáx ēf yam-ma.axélet li-şxót ēf beñí vay-yiqrá el ... eláv małáx adonáy mím-haš-šamáyim vay-yómer avrahám avrahám vay-yómer hiñnéni vay-yómer ał fiñláp yàđexá ēl-han-ná.ar va-ál tá.as ló mu.ummań kí attá yadáfi kí yeré ełohím attá ve-ló xasáxta ēt biñexá ēt yəxídexá mím-méñni

##### *Gen. 22 (b), recited*

va-yhí axár had-đevarím ya-éñle va-ha-ełohím níssá ēt āvrahám vay-yómer eláv avrahám vay-yómer hiñnéni vay-yómer kax-ná ēt-biñexá ēt-yəxídexá ašér ahávt ēt-yicxáK ve-léx-lexá el-érec yam-mōriyyá va-ha.aléno (!) šám lo-olá ał-axár (!) ye-harím ašér omár ēléxa vay-yaškém āvrahám bab-bóqer vay-yaxabóš (!) ēt-xamōrō vay-yikkáx ēf-šeñé na.aráv ittō ve-ét-yicxáK benó vay-yevaqqá aćé olá vay-yáqom vay-yélex ēl ham-makóm ašér amar-ló yá-ełohím (!)

*Gen. 1, recited*

be-rešít bará elohím et-yaš-šamáyim vé-ēt-hárec va-ya-árec yāyetá tóhu va-vóhu vo-xósex al-péne-tohóm vé-rúvax ēlohim méraxéfet al-péne-yam-máyim vay-yómer elohím yihí òr vá-yhí òr vay-yár elohím et-ya-ór ki-tóv vay-yavdél elohím beń ha-ór vu-véń ya-xósex vay-yiqrá elohím lo-ór yom vé-la-xósex kárà láyla va-yhí érev va-yhí bôqer (corrected later: vóqer) yom exáT

vay-yómer elohím yihí raqí.a be-tóx -xam-máyim v-ihi mavdífí beń máyim la-máyim vay-yá.as elohím et-ha-raqí.a vay-yavdél bén ham-máyim ašér mit-táxat le-(!) raqí.a vu-véń ham-máyim ašér mé-áł-e-la-raqí.a va-yhí-xěń

vay-yiqrá elohím la-raqí.a šamáyim va-yhí érev va-yhí bôqer yom šení

vay-yómer elohím yiqqávú ham-máyim mit-táxat yaš-šamáyim él makóm exa... el-makóm exád vé-ferá'é hay-yabbašá va-yhí-xěń

vay-yiqrá elohím lay-yabbašá érec vu-l-miqvé ham-máyim qárá yámím (!) vay-yár elohím kí-tóv vay-yómer elohím tađdešé (!) ya-árec dešé (!) ésev mazrí.a zéra ec péři osé péři le-minó ašér zaró bő al-ya-árec va-yhí-xěń vat-tocé ha-árec deše ésev mazrí.a zére (!) le-miňéhu vé-éc osé péři ašér zaró bő ... vő le-miňéhu vay-yár elohím kí-tóv va-yhí érev va-yhí bôqer yom šeliší

*Amos 8:11, recited*

hiňné yámím ba.ím nu.úm adonáy elohím ví-hišláxfi la ... rá.av ba-árec lo-rá.av lał-léxem vé-łó camá łam-máyim kí-fí li-šmóva eT-đivré adonáy

*Verses of Psalms, recited:*

119:1–4:

ašré fémimé dáręt ya-γolexím be-torát adonáy ašré nōcerê-edotéxá be-xót lēv yidrešúhu af lo-fá.alú avlā bi-draxáv hałáxū attá cíñvítá píkkudéxá li-šmóv mo.öt

99:2:

adonáy be-čiyyón gadół vé-rám hu al-koł-ha-ańimím

44:14:

barúx adonáy elohé yisra.él mé-ya-ołám va-ád ya-ołám améń va-améń

33:4:

kí yāšár ḏevár adonáy vé-xót ma.ašéhu be-emuná

119:160:

rōš-đeváréxá eméf vu-l-ołám koł-mišpát cíTqéxa

119:4:

attá cíñvítá píkkudéxá li-šmóv mo.öt

119:18:

gál ěnáy va-ābbítá nifla.öt mit-toraféxa

119:68:

tóv attá vu-mefív łam-médeńi xuqqéxa

119:72:

tóv lí törát píixa mé-alfé zaháv vé-xáséf

119:12:

barúx attá adonáy łam-médeńi xuqqéxa

119:142:

ćidkātexā cēđeq ḥo-ołām vē-torātexā eńēf

119:1-4:

ašrē fēmīmē dārex ya-γolexim̄ ḫe-torāt adonāy ašrē noćerē-edotāv ḫe-xōl̄ ſev  
yidrešuhu af ḥo-fa.alū avlā ḫi-draxāv yałāxū attā cīnvíta píkkudéxa li-śmōr mo.ōT

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION<sup>16</sup>

The vowel system consists of the five basic “Sephardi” vowels: a, e, i, o, and u. There is no quantitative distinction between the realizations of “full” vowels, *shewa*, and *haqafim*. The vowel length is dependent upon the location of stress as well as the closure of syllables: in open syllables the stressed vowels, in particular, tend to be lengthened. The stress system does not reveal exceptional trends.

Peculiar features are the realization of the intial *u*- particle as [vu] (only in the recordings of Mr. Firkovitsh, e.g. *vu-ḥołām*) as well as the employment of [v] as a glide between a labial vowel and *pataḥ furtivum*, e.g. *rūvax*.

The lengthening (gemination) of consonants takes place in accordance with the Masoretic punctuation (*dageš forte*). Of the *begadkefat* consonants only *bet*, *kaf*, and *pe* display two different realizations (*b/v*, *k/x*, *p/f*). While both *tet* and *taw* are pronounced as [t], *qof* has a more post-velar realization than *kaf* [k] in a considerable number of cases. However, I have not been able to delineate factors which would call forth [q] instead of [k]. Since the corresponding post-velar seems to have disappeared from the Karaite vernacular quite recently,<sup>17</sup> we can conclude that a similar shift from [q] to [k] is also taking place in the pronunciation of Hebrew; this kind of delay and inconsistency is typical of liturgical reading traditions in general. *Sade* is affricate [c].<sup>18</sup> *'Alef* and *'ayin* appear as a syllable boundary or, sometimes, as a weak glottal stop between two vowels.<sup>19</sup> In other positions they usually have no sound value, e.g. no glottal stop after *dalet* in *yadāfi* ‘I know’.

The dissimilation of lengthened (geminated) *lamed* into [ñl] goes back to the influence of the vernacular; however, the parallel treatment of lengthened *waw* is not mentioned in grammar books as a feature occurring in Karaite.<sup>20</sup> As for the realization of *he*, I have not been able to find rules of the vacillation between [h] and [γ]; in the vernacular they seem to be allophones in free variation and, as a consequence, in the pronunciation of the liturgic language as well.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, palatalization is a feature typical of both the Lithuanian Karaite Hebrew and the vernacular. In the Karaite Hebrew it occurs in the majority of consonants before the vowels *e* and *i*, but after them it is perceivable solely with *l*, *n*, and *t*. However, the velars, *r*, *h*, and *š* are never palatalized.<sup>22</sup>

## SHEWA

In the Karaite Hebrew of Lithuania, *shewa* is read as a vowel (1) at the beginning of words, (2) as the second one of two *shewas*, (3) after a lengthened (geminated) consonant, (4) after a so-called long vowel,<sup>23</sup> and (5) between two identical consonants.

In addition to these well-known cases, a majority of *shewa medium* occurrences have been realized as a vowel in my recordings as well as in those of The Language Traditions Project.<sup>24</sup>

As a rule, the realization of vocalic *shewa* is a (usually) short *e* vowel which does not deviate from the realization of *ṣere* and *segol*. *Shewa* preceded by *yod* tends to be centralized. By chance, *shewa* occurs before *yod* in my texts only once in the recordings of Dubiński and Abrahamowicz which I have received from Jerusalem in copies: Dubiński reads *vi-īsra.ēl* (Ps. 51:12; in accordance with the Tiberian theory), but Abrahamowicz *vé-yisra.ēl*.

However, before a laryngeal ('alef, *he*, *het*, and 'ayin), the Lithuanian Karaite sound value of *shewa* is identical with that of the "full" vowel which follows the laryngeal.

A few examples from my recordings (cf. the transcriptions above):

Before 'alef: *va-añēñ* (and not \**vé-añéñ*), *mo.ōT*, *to-ōr*, *nu.úm*. (*pro* \**mé.ód*, \**le-ōr*, \**ñe.úm*), and *vé-ef* (followed by vowel *e*).

Before *he*: *va-ya-árec*, *vi-hišláxfi*, *tohōm*.

Before *het*: *vo-xóšex*.

Before 'ayin: *va-ád*, *na.aráv*, *to-ołá*, *to-ołám*; *vé-éc*.

It is important to note that, although both *het* and *khaf* are pronounced identically as a velar fricative [x], the assimilation of *shewa* does not occur before *khaf*: e.g. *vé-xášef* and *be-xół* instead of \**va-xášef* and \**bo-xół*. On the other hand, the assimilation takes place before [γ] which is a non-laryngeal realization of the laryngeal *he*. While the quality of *shewa* before 'alef and 'ayin could be interpreted to derive its origin from the loss of these laryngeals, this explanation does not suit the realizations of *shewa* before *he* ([h] and [γ]) and *het* ([x]). On the basis of these facts we must conclude that the assimilation of *shewas* is connected solely to the consonants which have been genuine laryngeals in Near Eastern Hebrew.

The same assimilation occurs in the recordings which Altbauer has transcribed and published. As I mentioned above, I have a copy of the tapes in my disposal.<sup>25</sup> However, Altbauer has resorted to the neutral vowel ə as the general transcription of *shewas*, and, as a consequence, the assimilation has escaped his attention. Nevertheless, the assimilation occurs four times in his transcriptions of the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5) and Ps. 81 in which the spellings *bu-u-šim* (= bě'ušim, twice), *ca-a-ka* (= še'āqā), and *ia-yal-le-χu* (= yěhallékū; -ual- in Altbauer is a printer's error) have been marked with exclamation marks without further comment; in addition, he also writes *bayar* (i.e. bě-har) in Gen. 22:14 with an exclamation mark.

Similarly, the book of Kowalski includes the names *Iuyuda* (= Yěhūdā), *Ruuma* (= Rě'ūmā) and *Pinachas* (= Piněħas) as well as the word *maxabber* (měħabber) in which the assimilation has taken place. Kowalski does not deal with this phenomenon.<sup>26</sup>

The written sources do not recognize the assimilation of Lithuanian Karaite *shewa* vowels. Nevertheless, they record a number of occurrences which accord with my recordings in a great majority of details. The same is true concerning the recordings of the Tape-Archives in Jerusalem.

The assimilation of *shewa* before a laryngeal to the quality of the following "full" vowel is a genuine feature of Tiberian Hebrew. The phenomenon has been mentioned in numerous treatises of early grammarians and it is perceptible in the vocalizations of various medieval manuscripts including the Aleppo Codex;<sup>27</sup> among the early Karaite manuscripts written in Arabic script with Tiberian punc-

tuation signs the assimilation occurs twice in BL Or. 2581 A (*Yisre'ēlīt* and *ha-yisre'ēlīt*, Lev. 24:10).<sup>28</sup>

In living reading traditions of Hebrew the laryngeal assimilation of *shewa* vowels has been upheld by the Yemenite Jews and, although less consistently, by the Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities of western Kurdistan.<sup>29</sup> It seems probable that the Lithuanian Karaites now can be included in the group of the steadfast keepers of Tiberian Biblical Hebrew.

Additional recordings, discussions with informants, comparative research of the grammar books of Hebrew in possession of Lithuanian (and Crimean?) Karaites in manuscript form, as well as studies of the early Karaite Bible manuscripts are required to shed light on the history of the East European Karaite reading tradition of Hebrew.<sup>30</sup> The living reading traditions of Arabic-speaking Karaite communities should also be examined as long as reliable informants can be found. After these investigations quite a number of questions pertaining to the Masoretes, their working technique, the role of the Karaites as transmitters of Hebrew,<sup>31</sup> and the links between Karaite and Jewish communities may be in need of reconsideration.

## NOTES

1. Among the East European Karaites the *pešatlar* translations have preserved much of an oral, private nature until the end the 19th century. Tadeusz Kowalski, Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki (Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Nr. 11. W Krakowie 1929), p. xix-xxi.
2. Zvi Ankori, Karaites in Byzantium. The formative years, 970–1100. New York 1959 (reprint AMS Press, New York 1968), p. 155–163.
3. Irena Jaroszyńska, "Skupiska karaimskie poza Polską", Karaimi (Materiały z sesji naukowej. Pod redakcją: Aleksandra Dubińskiego & Eugeniusza Śliwki. III Pieniężniskie Spotkania z Religiemi. Materiały i Studia Księży Werbistów Nr 32. Pieniężno 1987, p. 51–54), p. 52–53.
4. See O. Pritsak, "Das Karaimische", Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta, Tomus primus, ediderunt Jean Deny, Kaare Grønbech, Helmuth Scheel, Zeki Velidi Togan (Wiesbaden 1959, S. 318–340), S. 318–322; Paul Wexler, "Is Karaite a Jewish Language?" (Mediterranean Language Review, Vol. One, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 27–54), p. 27–28 & notes.
4. Население СССР (Политиздат, М. 1983), p. 130. Численность и состав населения СССР по данным Всесоюзной переписи населения 1979 г. (М. 1984), p. 78 & 104.

Tarybų Lietuvos enciklopedija (2, Vilnius 1986), entries "Karaimai" (p. 213) and "Karaimų kalba" (p. 213), and Литва – Краткая энциклопедия (научноредакционный совет Й. Аничач..., Вильнюс 1989), p. 293.

Rabbanite Jews, the so-called Krymchaks who – like the Crimean Karaites – spoke a dialect of Crimean Tatar as their native language, have also lived in the Crimea. Until the first half of the 19th century both of the two "Tatarian" groups (Karaites and Rabbanites) were called *Krymchaks*; originally the term excluded Ashkenazi Jews who had immigrated to the peninsula. The more limited usage with reference to the "Tatar" Rabbanites solely was not coined earlier than a century ago. There are approximately 1800 Rabbanite Krymchaks left in the U.S.S.R.; during the census in 1959 only 189 Krymchaks identified Crimean Tatar as their mother tongue. The Rabbanite Krymchaks have also read Hebrew with the "Sephardi" pronunciation which, however, differed from the Near Eastern "Sephardi" Hebrew. For details, see Wolf Moskowitch – Boris Tukan, "Quelques traits caractéristiques du parler des Juifs Krimtchaks de Crimée", Massorot (Publications of The Hebrew University, Center for Jewish Languages and Literatures, Language Traditions Project), Vol. 2, Jerusalem, 1986, p. 113–122, as well as Anatoly Khazanov, The Krymchaks: A vanishing group in the Soviet Union (Research Paper No. 71, The Marjorie Mayrock Center for Soviet and

- East European Research, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, November, 1989), esp. p. 5, 13–15, 23, and 27.
6. During my stay in Vilnius in October 1988, I was told by Mrs. Kobeckaitė (Firkovitsh) that there are 20 Karaites in Galicz (Halicz) and none in Luck.
  7. Simon Szyszman, *Les karaïtes d'Europe* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, 7. Uppsala 1989), p. 70; Szymon Pilecki, "Karaimi w Polsce po 1945 r. Migracja podczas i po II wojnie światowej" in the article collection *Karaimi* (p. 41–50, cf. above, fn. 3), p. 49.
  8. The general descriptions of A. Idelsohn ("Die gegenwärtige Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Juden und Samaritanern", *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 57, Breslau 1913, p. 527–545, 697–721) and Sh. Morag ("Pronunciations of Hebrew", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 13, Jerusalem 1971, c. 1120–1145) do not deal with Karaite Hebrew.
  9. Qaṭalog hat-ti'ud ham-muqlaṭ, 'aruk b-ide Qadya Felman [Kadia Fellman] ('Eda we-lašon, III, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Jerusalem 1978.
  10. *idem*, p. 73. The readers are Mr. Alexander Dubiński (from Troki, read in 1956) and Mr. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz (from Halicz, read in 1956 and 1964). Some of the texts read by Mr. Dubiński have been published by Moše Altbauer in transcription and (partly) with musical notation in his article on Lithuanian Karaite Hebrew (*Lěšonénu*, Vol. 22:4, appendix; see below, note 12). Part II of the Catalogue ('Eda we-lašon, XI, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1987, p. 78) gives details of the place of recording (all of them in Israel) of the Egyptian and Iraqi informant readers.
  11. *Pé'amim*, 6 (Mekhon Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem 1981), p. 79–106. Their more recent article "Quelques traits caractéristiques du parler des Juifs Krimtchaks de Crimée" (1986) has the Jewish – not Karaite – Krimtchaks (cf. note 5 above) as the main topic.
  12. *Lěšonénu*, Vol. 21:2 (1957), p. 117–126, and Vol. 22:4 (1958), p. 258–264.
  13. See above, note 1.
  14. I am deeply indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Firkovitsh for the pleasant cooperation and hospitality at their home. Unfortunately a new visit to Vilnius during the spring of 1990 was prevented by the political tension which the Soviet Union has directed against Lithuania.
  15. Of transcription signs the following ones can need clarification:
    - γ = voiced velar fricative.
    - x = voiceless velar fricative.
    - y = semivowel (i).
    - ñ = voiced velar nasal (ng).
    - t̪ = "dark", non-palatalized velar lateral (not [w] as in Polish!).
    - c = voiceless alveolar affricate.
    - r = voiced apical trill.
    - q = voiceless postvelar stop.
    - ā etc. = an overlong vowel lengthened by recitation melody.
    - ā etc. = an ultrashort vowel.
    - an apostrophe on the top of a consonant indicates palatalization of the consonant.
    - a full stop or a hyphen between two vowels (a.a or e-a etc.) indicates that the vowels constitute a part of two separated syllables although no glottal stop occurs between them.
    - capital letters (K, T etc.) indicate semivoiced consonants.
 An exclamation mark indicates a number of mistakes which occur in the reading.
  16. I have dealt with the same recordings in a paper read in the IX Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS); the Congress (Section B) was held in Leuven, Belgium, in August 26, 1989. The paper will be published in the Proceedings of the Congress (ed. by Aron Dotan) in the series *Masoretic Studies* (Missoula, Montana) in the spring 1991. The title of my paper reads "The Karaites of Lithuania at the Present Time and the Pronunciation Tradition of Hebrew among them: A Preliminary Survey".
  17. According to Pritsak (1959, p. 328–329) "q- bleibt in beiden (i.e. Trakai and Halicz) Dialekten erhalten", but Musaev (К. М. Мусаев, Грамматика караимского языка, Академия наук СССР, Издательство "Наука", М. 1964, p. 67, and Краткий грамматический очерк караимского языка, Издательство "Наука", М. 1977, p. 13) states that q has disappeared from Karaite.

18. According to the Karaites in Vilnius, a *shibboleth* of the Crimean Karaite Hebrew is the pronunciation of *sade* as [č].
19. For a similar phenomenon in Karaite (*maya* > *maa* ‘to me’ etc. not pronounced as a long vowel but two vowels which incline to be shortened into one single vowel, *ma* etc.), see Musaev (1964), p. 43–44.
20. E. g. *ha-’ellāh* ‘these’ is pronounced as [ha-éile] and *siwwītā* ‘you commanded’ as [cínvita]. According to Musaev (1964, p. 83) the dissimilation of *ll* into *nl* is typical of the Trakai and Vilnius dialect of Karaite. Altbauer (1958, p. 264) mentions the dissimilation of *ll*, *ww*, and *yy*; the last one is not found in my recordings.
21. For details, see my forthcoming article in the Proceedings of IOMS (above, note 16).
22. This observation does not accord with former descriptions, cf. Altbauer 1958, p. 263 & fn. 8 (Altbauer refers to the inconsistency of the phenomenon in Hebrew, but he does not go into details), and the partially mutually different lists of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants in Pritsak (1959, p. 328), Musaev (1964, p. 65–66, and 1977, p. 13), and Baskakov (in *Караимско-русско-польский словарь*. Пол редакцией Н. А. Баскакова, А. Зайончковского, С. М. Шапшала. Издательство “Русский язык”, М. 1974, p. 12); in particular, the non-palatalization of *k*, *r*, and *š* cannot be derived from the influence of the vernacular. Also this detail is in need of additional material and discussions with informants.
23. E.g. *yāyetā*, *ya-yolexim*, *nōcerē*, *devārēxd*.
24. E.g. *va-yevakkā*, *vay-yelexū*, *va-yevaqqā*, *biñexā*; also *shewa* between two identical consonants (e.g. *halelū-yāy*) can be mentioned again in this context; in Ps. 119:4 Dubiński reads *li-šemōr*. Cf. also the transcriptions of Altbauer (1958, appendix): *vayəvakka*, *vañyeləxu*, *vayəkav*, *bi-šərirut*.
25. Examples from Dubiński (Trakai): *va-attā*, *va-γarbā*, *mizboxōt*, *ben-bo.ōr* vs. e.g. *vé-xa-xóf* (= *wé-ka-hōl*); from Abramowicz (Halicz): *muhullāt*, *lo-γošivt*, *va-ad-ořam* alongside of a few exceptions, e.g. *mam-mace.ú* and *mizbaxōt*.
26. Kowalski (1929), p. 205, 246, 262, and 285 fn. 4. In Kowalski, counterexamples without the assimilation of *shewa* are *Mexijael* and *Mexuiael* (= *Mēhiyā’el*, *Mēhūyā’el*, p. 233), while *Iudit* (= *Yēhūdīt*, p. 205) can go back to the shortening of two similar vowels following one another (see above, note 19).
27. See the sources referred to in my forthcoming article (above, note 16) as well as those enumerated by Geoffrey Khan in his new edition and description Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah (Cambridge University Library, Genizah Series 9, Cambridge 1990), p. 109, fn. 98.
28. Obviously from the beginning of the 11th century (from Ramla?), see Khan (1990), p. 16.95, and 109.
29. For details, see Shelomo Morag, *ha-’Ibrit šeb-be-pi yehude Teman* (Jerusalem 1963), p. 167–174, and his encyclopaedia entry “Pronunciations of Hebrew” (see above, note 8), c. 1137–1138.
30. I have outlined some thoughts on the origin of the East European Karaite communities as well as their links to the Tiberian Hebrew in the article mentioned above (see note 16).
31. The innovative article of Geoffrey Khan “Vowel length and syllabic structure in the Tiberian tradition of Biblical Hebrew” (Journal of Semitic Studies, Vol. 32, 1987, p. 23–82) is based on the evidence provided by the early Karaite Bible manuscripts.

# The Public Debate as a Literary Genre in Arabic Literature<sup>1</sup>

BO HOLMBERG, Lund

Man seems always to have been fascinated by struggle and competition. What I have in mind is not the struggle for survival, indispensable – according to Darwinian theory – for the evolution of species. Nor is it the struggle between the archetypal hero and the evil cosmic powers personified by dragons and other beasts, necessary for Jungian analytic psychology. What I do have in mind is struggle and competition as entertainment and pleasure. Perhaps this kind of rivalry is as important for man's development as the Darwinian struggle for survival and the Jungian archetypal struggle between good and evil.

From my childhood in India I remember a popular amusement which always appealed to people passing by, who would halt and form a wide circle of enthusiastic spectators. The entertainment was provided by a serpent-charmer who set a cobra and a mungo at each other. Though the rat- and snake-catching mungo – familiar from Rudyard Kipling's tale about the mungo Rikki-tikki-tavi and its glorious victory over the two cobras, Nag and Nagaina – almost always defeats its enemy in the end, one does not cease to be amazed by the lightning leaps of the mungo which succeeds in fending off the aggressive bites of the cobra, finally letting its piercing teeth work through the back of the serpent's head.

This is only one example of struggle as popular amusement. To someone else cockfights, perhaps, would come to mind more immediately, or bullfights, in which one of the parties is a man – or rather men: toreadors, picadors, matadors; or medieval tournaments, or the duels of the ancient gladiators and the modern professional boxers who – even now – face the risk of lying dead in the arena while the crowd rises to cheer the champion.

A more tranquil and academic counterpart to these public amusements could be enjoyed at the medieval universities of Europe. What I have in mind are the *disputationes*, which, with the *lectiones*, constituted the academic curriculum in the medieval universities. Besides the *quaestiones ordinariae*, i. e. disputations on a set subject, in Paris another kind of lively disputations were staged twice a year, before Christmas and before Easter. At these *quaestiones de quolibet*, as they were called, a master undertook to treat of any subject proposed by anyone of the participants. In the course of the disputations anyone from the attendant crowd could enter into the debate in such a manner as to contribute to the liveliness and the entertainment of the disputation. In order to enhance the amusement of these performances even matters of mirth (*quaestiones iocosae*) were treated of during the late Middle Ages. Afterwards these *quaestiones* or *disputationes de quolibet* were written down and spread in literary form.<sup>2</sup>

From these medieval debates and their presentation in literary form, we may turn to what is our main concern here: the public debate as a literary genre in Arabic literature. As it is, we possess a considerable amount of testimonies of

different kinds of public disputations, discussions and debates among the Arabs during the Umayyad, and especially the 'Abbāsid, periods.<sup>3</sup> Our knowledge of some of these debates is confined to the mere fact that they are supposed to have taken place. Others, though, have come down to us in written form, providing us with an idea of the substance and the conditions of the debates. Among these latter accounts of public debates there are some which exhibit such close parallels in the narrative structure, especially in the frame-story, that we may surmise a more or less fixed literary genre. It is the distinctive traits of this literary genre that I wish to capture. By epitomizing four instances of this genre I hope to be able to throw light upon this subject.

## 1 FOUR EXAMPLES OF THE DEBATE GENRE

### 1.1 *The debate between Abū Bishr Mattā and as-Sīrāfī in Baghdad in 320/932*

In *Kitāb al-imtā' wa-l-mu'ānasa*<sup>4</sup> by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawhīdī (d. 1018) the account has been preserved of a debate between the translator and logician Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus (d. 940) and the grammarian Abū Sa'īd as-Sīrāfī (d. 979). This debate is supposed to have taken place in Baghdad in the year 320/932 in the presence of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt. The topic discussed was the relative merits of the two opponents' disciplines, i.e. logic and Arabic grammar.

at-Tawhīdī introduces his account by describing the scene of the debate: where and when it took place, and what celebrities were present.<sup>5</sup> He then points out the immediate reason for the debate: the vizier Ibn al-Furāt suggests that someone present should step forward and discuss the subject of logic with Abū Bishr Mattā, since he argues that it is impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood, right from wrong, except by means of logic.<sup>6</sup> General silence ensues, and everybody bows their heads pretending to be busy with other matters.<sup>7</sup> After another invitation from Ibn al-Furāt, as-Sīrāfī steps forward to complain about how difficult it is to argue convincingly in the presence of so many listening ears, watching eyes and critical minds. To be victorious in front of such a crowd is not like wrestling in private.<sup>8</sup> But as-Sīrāfī nevertheless comes off victorious, being the hero of the debate who brings forth his evidence and makes his opponent speechless. This is clearly emphasized in the narrative when the vizier is now and then allowed to interrupt the debate in order to praise as-Sīrāfī and encourage him.<sup>9</sup> By and by Abū Bishr Mattā disappears and the dialogue turns into a monologue. The narrative is brought to an end with a description of how the meeting is suspended, while people admire as-Sīrāfī for his caustic tongue, his radiant face and the flow of his reasoning.<sup>10</sup> Even the vizier praises him enthusiastically and wishes him God's favour.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.2 *The debate in c. A. D. 820 between Abraham of Tiberias and several opponents in the presence of the emir 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Hāshimī in Jerusalem*

A debate is supposed to have taken place in Jerusalem around A.D. 820 between the Melkite monk Abraham of Tiberias and the emir 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Hāshimī.<sup>12</sup> During the course of the debate the emir turns into a listener, while especially

three other figures, including a bedouin and a pilgrim, assume the roles of challengers of the monk.

The reason for the debate is given by way of introduction: the emir is astonished by the great number of Christians, and by their persistence – despite their good education – in their unbelief, alleging as they do that God is three hypostases and that Christ is the son of God.<sup>13</sup> On hearing this a *mu'addib* proposes that the emir should gather learned Muslims, Christians and Jews in order to discuss the matter.<sup>14</sup> The emir agrees, and the monk Abraham of Tiberias enters the stage and is entrusted with explaining and defending the Christian faith.<sup>15</sup> This he does properly, and in such a manner that the emir is obliged to confess that the monk's arguments are convincing.<sup>16</sup> Abraham's reasoning is crowned with success, and he finally goes through certain ordeals (e.g. he drinks poison without getting harmed).<sup>17</sup> This results in the conversion to Christianity of some listeners.<sup>18</sup> The monk is put in jail, but the emir frees him and affirms his innocence.<sup>19</sup> When, finally, the emir offers him certain benefits and the permission to remain in the country, the monk prefers, however, to withdraw.<sup>20</sup>

### *1.3 The debate between George the Monk and three Muslim scholars in the presence of the emir al-Malik al-Mushammar in Aleppo in A.D. 1217*

The third example of a public debate resembles the previous one. This time the debate is supposed to have taken place in Aleppo in A.D. 1217 between the Melkite monk George, from the monastery of St. Simon on the Mediterranean coast south-west of Antioch, and three Muslim scholars in the presence of the emir al-Malik al-Mushammar.<sup>21</sup>

The account begins with an explanation of why the monk and the emir get together and why the debate is brought about; then follows a presentation of the monk.<sup>22</sup> In the debate George the Monk argues his case with great success, and confounds his adversaries. As in the previous debate the opponents of the monk demand ordeals. But the monk and his antagonists cannot agree on what kind of ordeal they should resort to.<sup>23</sup> Finally they come to terms with one another, and the Muslim scholars offer the monk to join them on the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>24</sup> But the monk declines the offer, whereupon the Muslim scholars depart. They leave George the Monk in the hands of the emir, who praises the hero of the debate and grants him fish and a mule as a reward for his success.<sup>25</sup>

### *1.4 The debate between the bishop Israel of Kashkar (d. 872) and the philosopher as-Sarakhsī in Baghdad sometime between 860 and 872*

As the fourth and final example of a public debate I have chosen the debate between the Nestorian bishop Israel of Kashkar (d. 872) and the philosopher al-Kindī's disciple Ahmād ibn at-Tayyib as-Sarakhsī, which must have taken place in Baghdad sometime between 860 and 872.<sup>26</sup>

According to the frame-story, the debate was the result of a meeting between al-Kindī and Elia of Damascus, the narrator of the debate.<sup>27</sup> The philosopher has been informed of Bishop Israel's expected visit to Baghdad. He calls into question the rumour of Israel's great erudition. How can he be so learned, alleging as he

does that “three” equals “one” and “one” equals “three”? When Elia stands up for the bishop, al-Kindī turns to his most distinguished disciple, as-Sarakhsī, encouraging him to find out the true nature of the bishop’s alleged erudition. Subsequently the scene of the debate is pictured before our eyes.<sup>28</sup> The meeting takes place in the Monastery of Mār Pathion, where Bishop Israel is sitting in the company of other bishops and people who have come to greet him. The philosopher’s disciple arrives together with Jewish, Muslim and Mu’tazilite debaters. Having saluted Israel, as-Sarakhsī takes his seat right opposite the bishop. Then the actual debate commences.

There is absolutely no doubt as to who is the protagonist and hero of the debate. No less than four times the narrator discontinues his account of the discussion with lavish descriptions of all the bishop’s merits.<sup>29</sup> Time after time the listening crowd wonders at Israel’s methodical reasoning, which dumbfounds the great philosopher’s favourite disciple. Finally the debate is brought to an end by as-Sarakhsī and his companions, who suddenly withdraw under the pretext that they have to attend the midday prayer.<sup>30</sup> The rumour of as-Sarakhsī’s utter defeat finds its way to al-Kindī, who becomes greatly concerned and forbids his disciple to engage in any further discussions with the bishop.<sup>31</sup>

## 2 THE DISTINCTIVE TRAITS OF THE GENRE

In comparing these literary accounts of public debates, certain distinctive traits may be observed. These reveal a common narrative structure which justifies the claim that we are here dealing with a particular literary genre.

### 2.1 *The reason for the debate*

A first distinctive trait of the genre of public debates seems to be that the reason why the debate takes place is always given. In the first debate it is the vizier’s desire to have someone refute Abū Bishr Mattā’s insistence on the importance of logic.<sup>32</sup> In the second and fourth debates the aetiology is that someone (the emir ‘Abd ar-Rahmān and the philosopher al-Kindī respectively) wonders how the high education of the Christians is compatible with their Trinitarian doctrine.<sup>33</sup> As for the third debate, we learn that the monk visits the emir as a member of a delegation sent from the monastery to Aleppo in order to provide for the monastery’s material needs.<sup>34</sup> This gives the emir the opportunity to inquire about the monastic way of life, which he chooses to do by means of a debate.

### 2.2 *The description of the scene*

Another distinctive trait which also belongs to the introduction of the account is the description of the scene of the public debate. This description is most detailed in the first and the fourth accounts. In the debate between Abū Bishr Mattā and as-Sīrāfi, the narrator tells us both when and where the debate took place and what celebrities were present.<sup>35</sup> In the debate between Israel of Kashkar and as-Sarakhsī the locality of the event is given, as well as information on the attendants and the position of the two antagonists during the discussion.<sup>36</sup> As for the other two debates, we certainly know when and where they were supposed to have taken

place, though this knowledge is not given explicitly in the texts. In the case of the debate between George the Monk and the Ayyūbid emir, the date and locality is explicitly stated only in the title, which presumably does not belong to the original text.<sup>37</sup> The date and place of the encounter between Abraham of Tiberias and ‘Abd ar-Rahmān, must however, be deduced from statements in the text.<sup>38</sup> In the actual texts we have to be content with a description of the hero (in both cases a monk) and his arrival to the emir.<sup>39</sup>

### *2.3 The presence of an official person*

As a third characteristic, though in some way connected with the description of the scene, we may consider the fact that the public debate usually takes place in the presence of an official person (an emir, a vizier or a caliph<sup>40</sup>) who assumes the role of supervisor without, however, becoming a passive auditor. In at-Tawḥīdī’s narrative it is the vizier Ibn al-Furāt who supervises the debate. In the two subsequent accounts the emirs ‘Abd ar-Rahmān and al-Malik al-Mushammar, respectively, appear as patrons of the debates. In both cases the emir from time to time partakes very actively in the discussion. In the narrative of Elia of Damascus, there is no official person who is present during the dispute between Bishop Israel and as-Sarakhsī, but a person responsible for the occurrence of the debate is to be found in the philosopher al-Kindī. Though not present during the controversy, al-Kindī has taken the initiative in convoking the assembly, and he partakes in the results with concern.<sup>41</sup>

### *2.4 The hero throws his opponent into perplexity by means of his arguments and is praised by the crowd and/or the narrator*

When the aetiology of the debate has been given and the scene has been described, follows the report on the actual discussion where one of the antagonists is pictured as a hero who by means of his intelligent reasoning dumbfounds his opponent and receives the commendation of the crowd and/or the praise of the narrator. This may be considered as the fourth distinctive trait of the literary genre of public debates. In the first account, the hero as-Sīrāfī is repeatedly interrupted by the vizier, who commends his favourite and urges him on.<sup>42</sup> In the second account, the emir ‘Abd ar-Rahmān is laughingly obliged to confess to the validity of the monk’s arguments.<sup>43</sup> The most evident example of this trait is provided by Elia of Damascus in his account of the debate between Israel of Kashkar and as-Sarakhsī, where Israel as the unchallenged hero is extolled to the skies by the narrator.<sup>44</sup>

### *2.5 The anti-hero is defeated and withdraws*

The fifth distinctive trait of the public debate as a literary genre is the fact that the victim of the hero’s overwhelming intellectual reasoning, i.e. the anti-hero, is defeated and leaves the scene, sometimes in confusion. Though in the first debate the withdrawal of the anti-hero, Abū Bishr Mattā, is not explicitly mentioned, his part in the debate gradually diminishes. The dialogue turns into a monologue, and the logician virtually disappears. In the two following examples of public debates the anti-heroes are defeated and withdraw, leaving the hero behind in the company

of his patron. To be sure, in the account of the debate between George the Monk and the three Muslim scholars the Muslims leave the monk in mutual understanding in order to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. At the same time, though, their defeat and their incorrigible depravation is underlined when they shamelessly try to entice the monk to join them on their way to the beautiful women of Hijāz,<sup>45</sup> the questions of morality and the incompatibility of the spiritual life of monasticism and the materialism of Islam being the main topics of the preceding controversy.<sup>46</sup> In the debate between Israel and as-Sarakhsī, the anti-hero and his companions leave their rival in possession of the field under the pretext of the midday prayer.<sup>47</sup>

### 2.6 *The hero is commended and rewarded by the supervising official person*

The sixth and final trait to which I would like to draw attention is that the hero is praised and rewarded by the official patron of the debate. In the first case, Ibn al-Furāt's reward to as-Sirāfi is not material, but is represented by the vizier's wishing the hero God's grace.<sup>48</sup> In the second example, Abraham of Tiberias is offered certain material benefits if he wishes to remain in the country.<sup>49</sup> In the third narrative, George the Monk is granted a quantity of fish and a mule in recompense for his success in the debate.<sup>50</sup> In the dialogue between Israel and as-Sarakhsī this distinctive trait is obviously failing, since there is no official person who attends the debate. But if al-Kindī is regarded as a substitute for the attending official person, it is possible to interpret the fact that al-Kindī forbids his disciple to engage in any further dispute with the bishop as a kind of reward to Israel: the bishop will no longer be disturbed by the arguments of as-Sarakhsī (or al-Kindī). The failure of a reward in this latter case should, however, rather be correlated to the question of the function or *Sitz im Leben* of this particular literary genre, a topic which will be considered next.

## 3 THE FUNCTION OR *SITZ IM LEBEN* OF THE GENRE

In an article published in 1926 Georg Graf put forth the theory that when a hero in a Christian Arabic account of a public debate finally receives a material reward from the attending official person who represents the state (e.g. an emir or a caliph), this might indicate that such an account has been designed as a putative historical document with the function of legitimating and defending certain rights which at the time were endangered.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, when in the second account cited above 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Hāshimī offers to allow Abraham of Tiberias to settle down and to enjoy certain benefits in a specific locality, this might imply that this particular document has been used to legitimate the existence of e.g. a monastery in that locality. In the case of the fish granted by al-Malik al-Mushammar to George the Monk, of the Monastery of St. Simon, this document could be interpreted as having been conceived in order to defend the monastery's right to catch fish at a time when this right might have been endangered.

In the account of the debate between Israel of Kashkar and as-Sarakhsī the absence of a dignitary as well as of a reward, in this case rules out the function which the two previous accounts might have had. Consequently, we have to consider another function for this report. One possibility would be to regard the

account given by Elia of Damascus as having originally had the function of a propaganda pamphlet in support of Israel as a candidate for the election of a new catholicos. In those chapters in Mārī ibn Sulaymān's *Kitāb al-Majdal* where the history of the Nestorian church leaders are given,<sup>52</sup> we meet with a vivid picture of the antagonism and the rivalry which could manifest itself when different parties supported their own candidates for the highest office in the church hierarchy. Not least was this the case when Bishop Israel of Kashkar (d. 872) was advanced as a candidate.<sup>53</sup> In addition to this, the heavily idealized picture of Israel provided in the account of the debate would be given a plausible explanation if we regarded the text in its present form as a propaganda pamphlet.

When considering a third function which these accounts of public debates may have had, I think we are standing on firmer ground, though the above-mentioned functions need not be dismissed. Not only did the actual historical debate appeal to the fascination of the audience for suspense and entertainment, but also the written account as read or listened to may well have functioned as a story designed to amuse. Though the audience even from the very outset knows who the hero is, this does not reduce the suspense. It is still there. Though the mungo usually defeats the cobra, the audience will not leave until the expected victory has been won. Most obviously this function of entertainment is recognizable in the third debate, viz. the one in which George the Monk is the hero. The witticism which imbues this popular narrative, full of humorous remarks and allusions, clearly shows that whoever wrote the story did it with the view of entertaining.

Also the debate between Abū Bishr Mattā and as-Sīrāfī is obviously meant for diversion, though this function does not exclude other possible functions. Here it combines with a didactic function as well. The author aims not only at recreation, but desires also to pass on to his readers or hearers some knowledge of the relation between logic and grammar. If a didactic element is recognized in the case of at-Tawhīdī's account, we may also reckon with this element as far as the other debates are concerned. And certainly, also the philosophical, theological and moral doctrines expounded by Abraham of Tiberias, George the Monk and Israel of Kashkar are of an instructive nature. In these latter cases, though, I think the entertaining function of the narratives combines more clearly with another element, viz. that of building up a sense of communal identity and self-consciousness within a religious minority, in this case Christians living in a society dominated by Islam. As a matter of fact, the two functional elements of entertainment on the one hand, and creation and maintenance of communal identity on the other hand, combine perfectly well. Here, though, I have stressed the entertaining element in the function of the genre of public debates, wishing as I do to regard this genre as a genre in Arabic literature conceived of in a broad sense, i.e. not as an idiosyncrasy in the literature of a minority.

## NOTES

1. This paper was originally presented at the Second Nordic Symposium for Semitists at Kivik (Sweden) in August 1990.
2. The classical study of this literature is P. Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320*

- (Bibliothèque Thomiste 5), Kain 1925; and *idem*, La littérature quodlibétique II (Bibliothèque Thomiste 21), Paris 1935.
3. For references, cf. e.g. Moritz Steinschneider, Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst anhängen verwandten Inhalts (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VI:3), Leipzig 1877; Robert Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien", *Islamochristiana* 1 (1975), pp. 125-181; 2 (1976), pp. 187-247; 3 (1977), pp. 255-286; 4 (1978), pp. 247-267; 5 (1978), pp. 299-317; and Rachid Haddad, La trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050) (Beachesne Religions 15), Paris 1985, pp. 26-37.
  4. Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī, Kitāb al-imtā' wa-l-mu'ānasa 1-3, ed. Aḥmad Amin and Aḥmad az-Zayn, al-Qāhira 1939-1944. Vol. 1, pp. 107/15-129/7. For a useful study of the debate, see Muhsin Mahdi, "Language and Logic in Classical Islam", *Logic in Islamic Culture*, ed. G. E. von Grünbaum, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 51-83. There is also an abridged version transmitted by Yāqūt. Cf. Mahdi, *ibid.*, p. 55 (note 12), for references.
  5. at-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, p. 108/5-9.
  6. *Ibid.*, p. 108/5, 9-13.
  7. *Ibid.*, p. 108/13.
  8. *Ibid.*, p. 108/16-109/3.
  9. E.g. *ibid.*, pp. 117/18-118/2; 119/14-15; 120/18-19; and 121/17-122/2.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 128/15-16.
  11. *Ibid.*, p. 128/17-19.
  12. Ed. in Giacinto Būlus Marcuzzo, Le dialogue d'Abraham de Tibériade avec 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hāsimī à Jérusalem vers 820. Étude, édition critique et traduction annotée d'un texte théologique chrétien de la littérature arabe (Textes et Études sur l'Orient Chrétien 3), Rome 1986.
  13. Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, p. 263 (nos. 1-3).
  14. *Ibid.*, p. 265 (nos. 5-6).
  15. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-277 (nos. 16-24).
  16. *Ibid.*, p. 447 (no. 389).
  17. *Ibid.*, pp. 517-527 (nos. 546-565).
  18. *Ibid.*, pp. 527-529 (nos. 566-571).
  19. *Ibid.*, p. 533 (nos. 580-581).
  20. *Ibid.*, p. 533 (nos. 582-584).
  21. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, Mujādalat al-anbā Jirjī ar-Rāhib as-Sim'ānī ma'a thalāthat shuyūkh min fuqahā' al-muslimīn bi-haḍrat al-āmir Mušammar al-Ayyūbī, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā, Bayrūt 1932. For George the Monk and the debate, cf. Khalil Samir, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien (septième partie)", *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), pp. 298-307.
  22. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 8/1-9/6 and 11/4-12/5.
  23. *Ibid.*, pp. 98/5-106/14.
  24. *Ibid.*, pp. 110/2-113/7.
  25. *Ibid.*, pp. 113/8-115/13.
  26. The account of the debate is found in MS Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Ar. 299, foll. 149v-155v. A description of the manuscript and an English translation of the debate may be found in Matti Moosa, "A new source on Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī: Florentine MS Arabic 299", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92 (1972), pp. 19-24. Cf. also Bo Holmberg, A Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar (d. 872). Introduction, edition and word index (Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 3), Lund 1989. Pp. 50-58 and 92-96.
  27. MS Florence, *op. cit.*, foll. 149v/11-150v/4.
  28. *Ibid.*, foll. 150v/4-151r/4.
  29. *Ibid.*, foll. 150v/14-151r/4; 151v/11-14; 153v/3-7; and 154v/1-5.
  30. *Ibid.*, fol. 156r/5-6.
  31. *Ibid.*, fol. 156r/7-11.
  32. at-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, p. 108/5, 9-13.
  33. Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, p. 263 (nos. 1-3); and MS Florence, *op. cit.*, fol. 150r/1-12.
  34. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 8/1-9/6 and 11/4-14.
  35. at-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, p. 108/5-9.
  36. MS Florence, *op. cit.*, foll. 150v/4-14.

37. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
38. Cf. Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-133.
39. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 8/1-9/6; 11/4- 12/1; and Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, pp.271-277 (nos. 16-24).
40. Though no caliph figures in the examples of public debates referred to here, the presence of a caliph in public debates is fairly common. Perhaps the encounter between Timothy I and the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdi belongs to the more famous ones: Robert Caspar, "Les versions arabes du dialogue entre le catholico Timothée I et le calife al-Mahdi (IIe/VIIIe siècle)", 'Mohammad a suivi la voie des prophètes"', *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977), pp. 107-175.
41. MS Florence, *op. cit.*, foll. 150v/1-4 and 156r/7-11.
42. at-Tawhīdī, *op. cit.*, pp. 117/18-118/2; 119/14-15; 120/18-19; and 121/17-122/2.
43. Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, p. 447 (no. 389).
44. MS Florence, *op. cit.*, foll. 150v/14-151r/4; 151v/11-14; 153v/3-7; and 154v/1-5.
45. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 111/4-113/7.
46. E.g. *ibid.*, pp. 9/7-11/3; 27/7ff.; and 89/11-93/7.
47. MS Florence, *op. cit.*, fol. 156r/5-6.
48. at-Tawhīdī, *op. cit.*, p. 128/17-19.
49. Marcuzzo, *op. cit.*, p. 533 (nos. 582-584).
50. Jirjī as-Sim'ānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 113/17-115/13.
51. Georg Graf, "Christliche Polemik gegen den Islam", *Gelbe Hefte* 2 (1926), pp. 825-842. P. 832.
52. Ed. Henricus Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria. Pars prior. Maris textus arabicus. Romae 1899. Maris versio latina. Romae 1899. Pars altera. Amri et Slibae textus. Romae 1896. Versio latina. Romae 1897.* (The second part contains the corresponding texts of 'Amr ibn Mattā and of Ṣaliba ibn Yuhannā).
53. Gismondi, *op. cit.*, Pars prior (Ar. text), p. 81/10-20; Pars altera (Ar. text), pp. 73/18-74/8.

# The Position of Ugaritic Among the Semitic Languages\*

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As we all know the ancient Ugarit, discovered by an Arab peasant in the spring 1928, was located at the coast of Northern Syria. Already in the Early Bronze Age it was a large city connecting the interior of Northern Syria with the Mediterranean coast via the Bdāmā Pass. It also was situated on the important coastal highway which led from Egypt to Anatolia. In the sixteenth down to the thirteenth centuries B. C.<sup>1</sup> it was a flourishing and important citystate of medium-size by Syrian standards exerting its influence on a region much larger than its original territory which was defined by the Sea in the west, the mountain ridge of Bargylos in the east, the region of Rās el-Bussēt (later Posideion in Cilicia) in the north and the plain of Ġeble (Old Testament Gebal) in the South. The economic strength of the city was commerce. Its scope was international, situated as it was in the field of force between the Hittite kingdom to the North, Mitanni/Hurri to the East, and Egypt to the South. During most of the fifteenth century a large region around the territory of Ugarit,<sup>2</sup> formed a neutral zone between Egypt and Mitanni which was evidently respected by both great powers. Later, in the fourteenth century, the king of Ugarit became first a vassal of Egypt, then a vassal of the Hittite king, but in neither case did it suffer heavily, apart from in the latter period the trade to Egypt (compensated by the access to Anatolian markets). In the following century Ugarit remained loyal to Ḫatti “to their common bitter end”,<sup>3</sup> but fortunately 1284 Ramesses II of Egypt and Ḫattušiliš III of Ḫatti entered into a peace treaty which re-established the commercial relations with Egypt and the vassal states of Egypt in Phoenicia/Palestine.

Thus, when we encounter the texts found in Ugarit, we know that they are created (or at least written-down and used) near the northern borders of Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. This was a time of remarkable cultural and linguistic unity throughout the regions of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.<sup>4</sup> As Kathleen Kenyon remarks, “the same basic culture grew up in an area stretching from Ras Shamra in the north to the desert fringes of Palestine in the south. Moreover, the culture now /about 1900 B. C./ introduced into Palestine was to have a very long life. In spite of the fact that a series of events took place of major political importance, there is no cultural break until at least 1200 B.C.”<sup>5</sup>

The geographical location of Ugarit in the far north, as well as the archaeological evidence of a cultural homogeneity in the regions of Syria/Palestine in the time when Ugarit flourished, is important when we are going to assess the distinctive character of the Ugaritic language. It is also important to account for the fact that the writing employed in Ugarit for its native tongue<sup>6</sup> shows a remarkable blend of qualities: it employs cuneiform characters, but it is not the Akkadian syllabic

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writing; it is an alphabetic writing like the Phoenician, but the number of signs is 30,<sup>7</sup> contrasting with the 22 characters in the Phoenician alphabet. And although cuneiform in character, the signs of the Ugaritic alphabet are not found in the Akkadian writing. The signs may be regarded as new formations, although a similarity in form between some of the cuneiform letters and those in a number of linear Proto-Canaanite inscriptions is often pointed out.<sup>8</sup>

The order of the Ugaritic alphabet is interesting. The small tablets found in Ugarit exhibiting lists of the 30 alphabetic cuneiform signs show that the native order of the signs to a great extent conforms to that in the Phoenician alphabet.<sup>9</sup> In the following transliterated list the signs that lack a counterpart in the Phoenician alphabet are put in square brackets:

a	b	g	[h]	d	h	w	z	ḥ	t	y	k	[š]	l
m	[d]	n	[t]	s	'	p	s	q	r	t			
[g]	t	[i]	u	[s]									

Obviously, there is a connection between the two alphabets. But which? The most natural and straightforward conclusion is that the Ugaritic alphabet represents an adaptation of an already existing alphabet consisting of 27 letters and that three letters then was added at the end.<sup>10</sup> Gordon maintains that the Ugaritic alphabet "is typologically, but not yet chronologically, earlier than the Phoenician-Hebrew alphabet".<sup>11</sup> His argument goes as follows: the five letters (plus the three at the end) that constitute the difference between the two alphabets "could only have dropped (sic) out of the longer to form the shorter version. If we try to make additions out of the five letters, there is no way (with reference to graphic form or phonetic description) to explain their haphazard insertion".<sup>12</sup>

Carl Brockelmann on the other hand observed that one of the signs denoting a syllable beginning with a glottal stop stands at the head of the native alphabet, the other two signs at the end and concluded that the Ugaritic alphabet was shaped by supplementary insertion of signs for sounds that were felt necessary to convey the Ugaritic tongue, complementing the already known Phoenician alphabet from Byblos.<sup>13</sup>

Recent research on the origin of the alphabet seems to confirm the opinion of Gordon. In all probability the Ugaritic alphabet was the result of a conscious and official act in the middle of the fourteenth century, "since within a very short time all types of documents – administrative and legal, literary texts and letters – were written in this script".<sup>14</sup> There is no trace of a formative period, and so it must have been adopted from somewhere else. The source of the Ugaritic script is to be found in the Proto-Canaanite alphabet, which at the time of the formation of the Ugaritic alphabet may well have contained 27 letters since the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet from which the Proto-Canaanite may have been formed show this number of signs.<sup>15</sup> There is no unanimity as to the chronology of the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet. Benjamin Sass, however, argues for a date during the reign of Pharaoh Ammenemes III (1859–1814 or 1817–1772) of the 12th dynasty.<sup>16</sup> The earliest attested Proto-Canaanite inscriptions may be dated to the end of the Middle Bronze period, that is, early in the sixteenth century B. C.<sup>17</sup> All this means that the Ugaritic alphabet most likely

was shaped in the fourteenth century "under Proto-Canaanite influence, but cuneiform shapes were adapted to it to suit the requirements of the Ugarit scribes".<sup>18</sup> The Proto-Canaanite alphabet was adopted "lock, stock and barrel, with the same letter names and order. Cuneiform shapes were given to the letters in conformity with local scribal tradition, and the three extra letters were added. Two of these, 'i and 'u, were intended to fill in some of the lack of vowels, which hampered the Akkadian-trained scribes,<sup>19</sup> and the third, a second samek, was, at least initially, used in writing foreign words."<sup>20</sup> Thus, the impetus behind the formation of the specific Ugaritic script is to be found in the south, in Phoenicia and Palestine.<sup>21</sup>

Language relatedness is commonly defined as equivalent to the existence of a common *source*, from which the related languages are supposed to have developed.<sup>22</sup> Two separate languages are related if they are "reflexes of a single parent language".<sup>23</sup> This definition may be expounded by the expectation that two related languages will share early rules of grammar (so-called "isoglosses") – that is, those rules that are extant already in the common ancestor – and "differ only in those rules which have been added more recently".<sup>24</sup> Thus, Theodora Bynon says, "In general terms, the larger the number of such unshared changes the less closely related will be the two systems. Closeness of relatedness can therefore be seen to depend on the number of rules held in common".<sup>25</sup> It is also important to realize that linguistic relatedness implies that the speakers of the two languages somewhere in history or prehistory ceased to form a united speech community, which means that "language diversification can only be the result of the prior physical displacement of at least a portion of the speakers of the parent language".<sup>26</sup>

The origin of the Ugaritic script discussed above, is mainly an indication of cultural (rather than linguistic) dependence. The direction of the influence, however, gives us some hints as to the political and cultural position of Ugarit in the Fertile Crescent in the middle of the second millennium. The dependence may be summarized as follows: the scribal technique (cuneiform characters) was borrowed from the east (Assyria); the alphabet as such was borrowed from the south (Phoenicia) and supplemented with some local characters. This process J. C. Greenfield describes as "a Canaanite model was 'cuneiformized'".<sup>27</sup>

To a semitist, the Ugaritic phonological system conveys an archaic impression. It resembles the Arabic system and is obviously close to the Proto-Semitic stock of phonemes. We find in Ugaritic a rich variety of dentals and many spirants and laryngals, the latter fact immediately excluding the possibility that Ugaritic would be an Akkadian dialect. The scribes at Ugarit made use of a cuneiform technique to form the native characters, but this fact only testifies to the cultural and commercial importance of the Assyrian script at the time of shaping the signs.

In late and informal Ugaritic texts, found mainly outside Ugarit, the sign for *t* merges in that of *s̄*, the sign for *h̄* in that for *h̄*, *d̄* in *z̄*, *ḡ* in *č̄*, and *t̄* in *s̄*.<sup>28</sup> This concerns especially the so-called "mirror" tablets, found throughout Canaan as far south as Beth-Shemesh, which like the Phoenician texts are written from right to left. This short cuneiform alphabet seems to have developed outside Ugarit, probably in Syria or northern Palestine in the thirteenth century. In this region the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet was preferred to the Proto-Canaanite, possibly because of an earlier tradition of cuneiform writing. As was the case with the Proto-Canaanite

alphabet itself in the south, the cuneiform alphabet in this intermediate region “was shortened in accordance with the merging of consonants in the spoken language.”<sup>29</sup> There is no evidence that the short cuneiform alphabet was ever used in Ugarit itself, although a few such tablets have actually been found there. In all likelihood, this alphabet was identical with the 22-letter Phoenician alphabet.<sup>30</sup> Thus, “the conservative phonology of Ugaritic vis-à-vis Heb.-Phoen. is not merely chronological but geographical”.<sup>31</sup>

When assessing the relative affinity between the Semitic languages a great obstacle is that they are attested in different periods of time. From the time of Ugarit (before ca. 1200 B.C.) very little is found of other Semitic languages except Akkadian. If we compare Ugaritic with later attested languages such as Hebrew or Aramaic, it should be held in mind that we know little of the state of these languages when Ugarit flourished. If the affinity of two languages is to be estimated that are attested from different periods of time, we have to take into account a reconstructed proto-form of the later attested language, in order to be able to perform a correct comparison. What do we know of the (Proto-)Hebrew language in the 13th century? Its stock of phonemes? Its verbal system? Not very much indeed, except for our own reconstructions out of the extant more recent texts. This situation means for all Semitic languages (except Akkadian) that we are forced to rely on texts that are several hundreds – in the case of Arabic and Ethiopic more than a thousand – years later than the Ugaritic literary corpus.<sup>32</sup>

If two related languages are attested from different times, a rule of thumb may be formulated thus: when the later attested, but not the earlier attested, language shows linguistic traits that are found in their known or reconstructed common ancestor, then this is an indication of a less close relation between the two. Obviously, the opposite is not necessarily true. If the more ancient language shows archaic traits as against the more recent one, this does not permit any conclusions. Only if, in the latter case, it can be made plausible that also the proto-state of the later attested language did not show these traits, are we entitled to draw any conclusions.

To get a reliable estimation of relatedness it is of course necessary to take into account as many such indications as possible. If they pertain vital parts of grammar or vocabulary, however, already a few such differing characteristics might be conclusive, at least in questions of relative relatedness, that is, questions of the relative *position* of a language within a specific family or subfamily of languages. Is a given language more closely related to one (subgroup of) language(s) than to another? This is especially the question posed in the present article.

When the Ugaritic texts were presented to the learned world it was at first felt that they represented a language very close to the Hebrew of the poetical parts of the Old Testament.<sup>33</sup> Extensive parts of the texts could be read as a Hebrew consonant writing with a defective spelling and to a large extent common vocabulary.<sup>34</sup> When the traits of Ugaritic grammar became more pronounced, however, it soon became obvious that Ugaritic could not be a Hebrew dialect, perhaps not even a Canaanite one. Several scholars, one of which was A. Goetze,<sup>35</sup> meant it was not a Canaanite dialect, but a language close to the Amorite that can be traced in North-West Semitic personal names in Akkadian cuneiform texts.

In the discussion of the position of Ugaritic there are nowadays mainly two standpoints that have been maintained. Some scholars hold to the Canaanite character of Ugaritic,<sup>36</sup> others propose that it cannot be classified as Canaanite, and should be distinguished as a separate unit within the North-West Semitic group<sup>37</sup> together with the Aramaic and the Canaanite subgroup.<sup>38</sup>

There are many features that Ugaritic has in common with the Canaanite languages as against Aramaic. Some of them are:

- 1) In Ugaritic as in Hebrew and Phoenician (but not in Aramaic) the common verb *hlk* shows secondary formations in imperfect and imperative: *ylk* and *lk* (=lik-), where the radical *h* is dropped. Cf. Biblical Aramaic *yhk*.<sup>39</sup>
- 2) Both Hebrew and Ugaritic utilize the *pōlēl* type instead of the *pi-el* type to form the intensive stem of verbs IIw: Ugar. *yknn* (Hebr. *ykwnn*) “establish” from the ideomorpheme *kwn*, and Ugar. *rmm* (Hebr. *rwmm*) “raise” from *rwm*. Cf. Syriac *pael kawwen/kayyen* “correct, rebuke”.<sup>40</sup>
- 3) Hebrew/Phoenician and Ugaritic are the only Semitic languages with two parallel forms of the 1. sing. personal pronoun: in Ugaritic the pair *an/ank* corresponding to the Hebrew and Phoenician *'ny/nky*.<sup>41</sup>
- 4) Many lexical correspondences including the masses of synonym pairs in poetry that Ugaritic and Hebrew have in common.<sup>42</sup> “The great bulk of the vocabulary of Ugaritic, when not *gemeinsam* (*klb*, *bt*, *'kl*, *tbr*), has its strongest links with Canaanite”.<sup>43</sup>
- 5) Change of Proto-Semitic *d* to *s*.
- 6) The monophthongizations *aw* > *ô* and *ay* > *ê*.<sup>44</sup>
- 7) Dual and plural endings of nouns with *-m-*.
- 8) The enclitic mem and the locative *he* is shared by Ugaritic and Canaanite.<sup>45</sup>
- 9) The verbal syntactical sequences PC/SC and SC/PC.<sup>46</sup>
- 10) The existence of the relative pronoun *aṭr* in Ugaritic. The use of the corresponding *'ṣr* as a relative pronoun has been attested only in Lachish, Biblical Hebrew, and in Moabite.<sup>47</sup>

Since the features stated above would provide a strong evidence that Ugaritic belongs to the Canaanite family, I will in the following examine the most common arguments against a classification of Ugaritic as »Canaanite«, and see if they nevertheless might constitute a decisive refutation of such a relationship:<sup>48</sup>

- 1) In Canaanite, as against Ugaritic, the phonological system seems to be reduced by:<sup>49</sup>

<i>ḥ</i> ,	<i>ḥ̄</i>	>	<b>ח</b>	( <i>ḥ</i> )	
<i>t</i> ,	<i>s̄</i>	>	<b>ת</b>	( <i>s̄?</i> )	
<i>t̄</i> ,	<i>d̄</i> ,	<i>s̄</i> ,	>	<b>ש</b>	( <i>s̄</i> )

Evidently, the Phoenician alphabet is made up of 22 letters, which means that many Proto-Semitic phonemes are represented by the same graphic sign. However, as was observed above the Proto-Canaanite alphabet from which the Phoenician

one derives its origin contained 27 letters. Later, by the time of the thirteenth century, five of the letters of the Proto-Canaanite alphabet had disappeared through assimilation of some consonants.<sup>50</sup> A parallel development may be observed in the texts written in the short cuneiform alphabet of Ugarit. The argument, therefore, presents no evidence against a classification of Ugaritic as a Canaanite dialect.<sup>51</sup>

2) *In Canaanite, Proto-Semitic ā has changed to ō.*<sup>52</sup> "This change has been widely regarded as the characteristic phonetic development of Canaanite", being "one of the few changes which spread over all (or most) of the Canaanite area without being paralleled elsewhere".<sup>53</sup> Aramaic, on the other hand, has preserved Proto-Semitic ā. And with the exception of a few instances the latter is also the case in Ugaritic. An exception to the rule is Ugar. gen./acc. plur. *tut = ta'ōti*,<sup>54</sup> a plural (of *tat* "ewe") ending in -ōt- < -āt-, and probably also in Akkadian writing *a-du-nu* = 'adōnu instead of 'adānu.<sup>55</sup> Since this phonetic law was in force as early as the 14th century (it is attested in the Amarna tablets)<sup>56</sup> it is usually held that "the preservation of ā cannot be ascribed solely to the earliness to the Ugaritic documents".<sup>57</sup> This is perhaps the most important argument against a classification of Ugaritic as "Canaanite". However, it is important to account for the geographical position of Ugarit on the northern fringes of the Palestine-Syrian region. The habit of pronouncing the original ā as a ō had not yet been fully established in Ugarit when the city perished about 1200 B.C. But Gordon remarks: "Perhaps with the passing of time the shift of ā to ō infiltrated the prose of Ugarit. Poetry is more resistant to change than prose is".<sup>58</sup>

3) *Causative prefix in Canaanite is ha- but ša- in Ugaritic.*<sup>59</sup> This is not a strong argument. Causative prefixes in the verbal system seem to be distributed among the Semitic languages in a well-nigh haphazard manner, and it is obvious that the three causative prefixes *ša* (> *sa*), *ha* and *'a* were used side by side also in a late stage of Proto-Semitic. Already in Canaanite, besides the Biblical Hebrew *hi* (< *ha*), the Phoenician language shows the causative prefix *y* < *i*;<sup>60</sup> the prefix *'a* has become established in Aramaic, North-Arabic and Ethiopic; *h* is used in the Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) dialect Sabaean, whereas in Minaean and other ESA dialects the prefix *s* (< *š*) is utilized;<sup>61</sup> except in Ugaritic the prefix *ša* is found in Akkadian and Aramaic. In fact, in Aramaic all the three Proto-Semitic causative prefixes have been preserved in various dialects.<sup>62</sup> The distribution of the causative prefixes in the Semitic languages indicates that the causative formations crystallized relatively late, and only after the individual languages had been separated. The forms of the causative prefixes cannot, therefore, be used as an indication of relative affinity (or non-affinity) within the Semitic family of languages.

4) *Ugaritic possessed no definite article.* In view of the diverse forms of the definite article in the individual Semitic languages – including its absence in Akkadian, Ya'udic, Ethiopic, and Ugaritic,<sup>63</sup> – it is obvious that Proto-Semitic did not possess a clearly circumscribed means of expressing the definite article,<sup>64</sup> and that it evolved individually in the different languages. As Brockelmann, says, "In allen

sprachen, auch denen, die einen vollentwickelten bestimmten Artikel besitzen, finden sich deutliche Reste der Zeit, wo das Nomen an sich selbst scharfe demonstrative Determination enthalten konnte".<sup>65</sup> The definite article evolved late in those Semitic languages that came to possess this feature. In the Biblical Hebrew poetry, for example, the article is not necessary to achieve determination, and its usage is limited; in Old Byblian the article was very rare.<sup>66</sup> We cannot, therefore, be sure that there was a fully developed definite article at all in those proto-stages of the Canaanite languages that were contemporary with Ugaritic. Consequently, the argument that Ugaritic lacks the definite article is inconclusive. The absence of the article indicates nothing as to linguistic affinity; rather, it is most probably due to the relative antiquity of Ugaritic.<sup>67</sup>

5) *In Canaanite, the masculine suffix of the dual is -ayma (Hebrew -ayim), whereas Ugaritic shows more ancient forms of the suffix:*

	abs.	cstr.
nom.	-ām-	-ā
gen./acc.	-ēm-	-ē

The Proto-Semitic dual endings were in all probability nom. -ā, gen./acc. -ay (in the absolute state followed by nunation or mimilation and case vowels). In Ugaritic – disregarding mimilation and case vowels – the construct form of the Proto-Semitic dual suffix in gen./acc. coalesced with the absolute form due to the monophthongization of diphthongs.<sup>68</sup> However, according to Akkadian transliterations of Canaanite words in the El Amarna tablets, the Old Canaanite dual of the absolute state ended in -ōma (nom.) and -ēma (gen./acc.) respectively,<sup>69</sup> which is very close to the Ugaritic forms, only that the Canaanite shift ā > ō has taken place. In this instance the biblical Hebrew retention of the diphthong -ay- in the absolute state of the dual (-aym > -ayim) and the use of this dual suffix in all cases, represents a separate development. Again we see that a disparity between Ugaritic and the attested Canaanite dialects is due to the great span of time in between the languages.

6) *The form of the existence particle in Ugaritic, 'īt, is more similar to the corresponding particle in Aramaic, 'yt or 'yty, than in the Canaanite languages. This difference is not great, being one between ' and y: Hebrew/Phoenician yš. Moreover, there are possible traces of a variant 'yš even in classical Hebrew.*<sup>70</sup>

7) *Ugaritic possessed case endings.* This is only due to the antiquity of the Ugaritic texts. Old Canaanite possessed case endings as late as in the Amarna time,<sup>71</sup> since they are written in the Canaanite forms and glosses in the Amarna letters even where the cuneiform orthography did not require them,<sup>72</sup> but they were lost at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., because of the general dropping of final short vowels.<sup>73</sup> In a dissertation by S. Parker it is even held that it is possible to trace a breakdown of the case system as well as final short vowels in general in the prose texts of Ugaritic.<sup>74</sup>

8) In Ugaritic, the prefix conjugation (PC) was the straightforward narrative verb form.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, according to Bertold Spuler, Ugaritic cannot even be a North-West Semitic language!<sup>76</sup> This is, indeed, a remarkable statement. In the ancient Hebrew language which together with Moabite has preserved many archaic traits in the verbal system it is still the PC that functions as the narrative form par préférence. What is the so-called "imperfect consecutive" in biblical Hebrew other than a narrative verb form that due to its frequency in such contexts has become a syntactic "fossil" from a time when the PC was even more freely used?<sup>77</sup> The ancient Hebrew verbal system rather indicates that Old Canaanite possessed a verbal system that was very similar to that in Ugaritic.<sup>78</sup> Goetze even adduces the predominantly stative force of the SC as a non-Canaanite sign of Ugaritic, although such a SC form would be exactly what we would expect of an archaic Canaanite language in view of the Hebrew verbal system!<sup>79</sup>

9) *Merging of d with z in Phoenician, Hebrew and Moabite, but a change d > d in Ugaritic.* The latter seems to be a northern trait that Ugaritic shares with Aramaic.<sup>80</sup> It is, however, hard to determine when the change took place in Hebrew or Phoenician.

10) *The conjunction pa.* This particle occurs in Ya'udic and Ugaritic (as well as in Arabic), but not in Hebrew or Phoenician. If it actually did occur in Proto-Hebrew, or was used in Old Canaanite in general we simply do not know. It is not attested, however, in the known Canaanite languages, and this is possibly one of the features that marks a distance to the Canaanite languages.<sup>81</sup>

My conclusion is that the evidence against a classification of Ugaritic as close to Canaanite is meagre, although there are some uncertainties. A. F. Rainey and A. Goetze have maintained that "Canaanite" is a misleading term, since there is evidence that the inhabitants of Ugarit did not reckon themselves as "Canaanites".<sup>82</sup> This is a valid statement, but it does not alter the linguistic facts.<sup>83</sup> Instead, it turns the whole question to "a matter of arbitrary definition".<sup>84</sup> The linguistic evidence, however, is not arbitrary. It rather indicates that whether the inhabitants of Ugarit would have liked to call themselves Canaanites or not, their mother tongue should be regarded as an ancient and peripheric Canaanite language, spoken on the northern fringes of the Palestine-Syrian region.<sup>85</sup> This means that the cultural unity observed by Kathleen Kenyon in the whole Syro-Palestinian area also involved a linguistic unity that characterized the spoken languages for the greater part of the second millennium.<sup>86</sup>

## NOTES

1. The destruction of Ugarit by the so-called sea peoples is assumed to have occurred during the reign of 'Ammurapi in the beginning of the twelfth century, ca 1180 B.C., see O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel. Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 7.
2. Comprising the region north of Șumur (thus named in the Amarna letters, Arabic Rās ez-Zēmara), west of the Bargylus mountains, and south of Alalah (Tell el-Atšāne).
3. The political position of Ugarit is outlined by M. C. Astour in "Ugarit and the Great Powers", in *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, edited by G. D. Young (Winona Lake, 1981), 3–29. The citation is from p. 23. Recently, a brief survey of the commercial and cultural position has been given in O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel*, especially pp. 12, 175–180.
4. This is pointed out by i.a. L. M. Muntingh in "Israelite-Amorite Political Relations During the Second Millennium B.C. in the Light of Near Eastern Politics", in *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica, Firenze, 16–19 aprile 1974*, edited by P. Fronzaroli, *Quaderni di semitistica*, 5 (Firenze: Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientali. Università di Firenze, 1978), 215 f. Earlier W. F. Albright has pointed to the same fact: "From the geographical standpoint, there was a homogeneous civilization which extended in the Bronze Age from Mount Casius, north of Ugarit, to the Negeb of Palestine, and in the Iron Age from north of Arvad (at least) to the extreme south of Palestine. This civilization shared a common material culture (including architecture, pottery, etc.), through the entire period, and we know that language, literature, art, and religion were substantially the same in the Bronze Age. From the twelfth century on we find increasing divergence in higher culture, but material culture remained practically the same in all parts of the area", in "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom", *Festschrift H. H. Rowley* (Leiden, 1969, c. 1955), 2.
5. K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 4th ed. (London, 1979), 148.
6. I disregard in this instance the mass of cuneiform tablets in the Akkadian and the Hittite languages found in Ugarit.
7. Of which three are syllabic: 1. *a*; 2. *i*; 3. *u*; the phonemic value of the letter *s* is uncertain. See the discussion in S. Segert, "The Last Sign of the Ugaritic Alphabet", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 15 (1983): 201–218. I conform to the convention established by Gordon when transliterating the signs 1–3, although I would prefer Aistleitner's more self-explaining signs. Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 38 (Rome 1965), and J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1974).
8. C. Brockelmann (against E. Ebeling) regards the signs as new formations, "Die kanaanäischen Dialekte mit dem Ugaritischen", *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1:3 (Leiden, 1964 (1953)), 44, as also S. Segert seems to do in *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Berkeley, 1984), § 21.1 (except for *s*). Recently, however, E. Lipiński and B. Sass have perceived a similarity of the shape of some of the letters to those in the Proto-Canaanite (actually the Proto-Sinaitic) alphabet, see E. Lipiński, "Les phéniciens et l'alphabet", *Oriens Antiquus* 27 (1988): 236, and B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B. C.*, Ägypten und Altes Testament, 13 (Wiesbaden, 1988), 5; in early times also G. R. Driver in *Semitic Writing, from Pictograph to Alphabet* (London, 1948), 149. A similarity to letters both in the Proto-Canaanite and in the South Arabian alphabets is argued for in M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete. Die phönizisch-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit*, Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas, 1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988).
9. E.g. the texts KTU 5.4 (UT 320), KTU 5.6 (UT 401) and KTU 5.14 (UT 1189). The line division of the alphabetic list given above conforms to KTU 5.6. The order of the signs, however, is the same on all the alphabetic tablets. The pronunciation of the signs is indicated by Akkadian cuneiform syllabic signs on the tablet KTU 5.14. See Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (= UT), § 3.1; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Teil 1 Transkription* (= KTU) (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976). S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar*, § 21.5.
10. This is, among others, the opinion of E. Lipiński, "Les phéniciens et l'alphabet", 236, and A. R.

- Millard, "The Ugaritic and Canaanite Alphabets – Some Notes", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 616.
11. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* § 3.2.
  12. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 12. This opinion is adopted also by W. L. Moran in "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background", in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (London, 1961), 58 f.
  13. Brockelmann, "Die kanaanäischen Dialekte", 44. This is also the standpoint of W. Baumgartner, "Ras Schamra und das Alte Testament", *Theologische Rundschau* 12 (1940): 174 f.
  14. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 144, also 165.
  15. The number might even have been higher. Sass mentions 27–29 letters, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 106.
  16. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 142. Other scholars date it to the fifteenth century. I. J. Gelb suggests a dating 1600–1500 B.C., *A Study of Writing*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1963), 132.
  17. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 135, 161.
  18. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 5, 163.
  19. The two Ugaritic graphemes are taken from the syllabic cuneiform script, M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete*, 126.
  20. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 165.
  21. Dietrich and Loretz, however, without knowledge of the work of Sass maintain that the Ugaritic long alphabet is the result of an influence of two independent and simultaneous alphabetic traditions, the northern Phoenician/Canaanite and the southern Arabian, see *Die Keilalphabete*, 305. Their arguments are mainly typological and in many cases not very convincing. If a similarity is observed between letters in the Ugaritic alphabet and in the South Arabian script this might as well be due to affinity with a common ancient ancestor alphabet rather than to a direct influence on the formation of the Ugaritic letters. That both the South Arabian and the Phoenician script are descendants of the Proto-Canaanite alphabet (including the Proto-Sinaitic writing) is the standpoint of J. Naveh in *Early History of the Alphabet. An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 2d revised ed. (Jerusalem, 1987), 27. A very ancient dating of the South Arabian alphabet is stressed by many scholars in recent times, mainly because of the discovery of a cuneiform alphabet table at Beth Shemesh near Jerusalem exhibiting an alphabetic order that corresponds to the South Semitic alphabet. See, apart from the work by Dietrich & Loretz above, A. G. Lundin, "L'abécédaire de Bet Shemesh", *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): 243–251; E. Lipiński, "Les phéniciens et l'alphabet", 237; J. Ryckmans, "L'ordre alphabétique sud-sémitique et ses origines", in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*, edited by C. Robin, Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques, supplément, 12 (Paris, 1985), 358 f. The two different alphabets may indicate the existence of two scribal schools in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. Ryckmans points out, however, that "La famille des alphabets sud-sémitiques est de toute évidence génétiquement apparentée à celle des alphabets linéaires nord-sémitiques (et même à l'alphabet cunéiforme d'Ugarit, à notre avis simple habillage cunéiforme d'un alphabet linéaire)", op. cit., 356.
  22. Cf. T. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1977), 10.
  23. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics*, 11.
  24. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics*, 64.
  25. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics*, 64.
  26. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics*, 272.
  27. J. C. Greenfield, "Amurrite, Ugaritic and Canaanite", in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, held in Jerusalem, July 19–23, 1965 (Jerusalem, 1969), 97. G. L. Windfuhr, "The Cuneiform Signs of Ugarit", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970): 48–51, states that "The resulting abstract graphical system clearly reflects the awareness of two competing ways of writing, and the attempt of diligently merging them" (p. 51).
  28. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 164.
  29. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 166.
  30. Thus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, § 14.5. In some of these texts the alphabet was not yet identical with the 22 letter alphabet of Palestine, as M. Dijkstra observes in "Another Text in the Shorter Cuneiform Alphabet (KTU 5.22)", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18 (1986): 123.

31. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 148.
32. For a further discussion of this topic I refer to J. Blau's article "Some Difficulties in the Reconstruction of "Proto-Hebrew" and "Proto-Canaanite""", in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beiheft 103 (1968): 29–43.
33. T. H. Gaster, "The Combat of Death and the Most High". A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Samra. Transcribed from the Cuneiform Original with Translation and Notes", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 64 (1932): 857–896. Further literature is given in A. Halder, "The Position of Ugaritic among the Semitic Languages", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 21 (1964): 267.
34. This is observed by Baumgartner, "Ras Shamra und das Alte Testament", 177. The proximity of Hebrew and Ugaritic is most conspicuous in the pairs of synonyms found in poetry. Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, § 14.3–4, and the extensive work *Ras Shamra Parallels. The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*, vols. I–III, edited by L. R. Fisher and S. Rummel (Roma, 1972–1981). C. Virolleaud, from the beginning the principal editor of the Ras Shamra texts, has always maintained the Canaanite nature of Ugaritic, and he characterizes Ugaritic as Biblical Hebrew's closest linguistic kin: "le plus étroitement à l'hébreu", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* 1952, 233, and he repeats his statement in id. 1956, p. 63; the quotation is taken from M. Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic in the Light of Recent Discoveries", *Sacra Pagina. Miscellanea Biblica* (Gembloix, 1959), 268, who agrees with Virolleaud, see p. 279. A review of the comparative research is given by P. C. Craigie in "Ugarit and the Bible: Progress and Regress in 50 Years of Literary Study", in *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, edited by G. D. Young (Winona Lake, 1981), 99–111.
35. A. Goetze, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?", *Language* 17 (1941): 127–138.
36. Thus, e.g., Z. S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects. An Investigation in Linguistic History* (New Haven, 1939), 10 f.
37. Thus J. Cantineau, "La Langue de Ras Shamra", *Semitica* 3 (1950): 34. A criterion of this group, shared by Ugaritic, is that initial bilabial *w-* becomes palatal *y*. thus Ugar. *yld* should be compared with Proto-Sem. \**walad(a)*, Arab., ESA and Ethiopic *walada*, Akk. *alādu* (older *walādu*), but in North-West Sem.: Aram. *y'led*, Syriac *iled*, Phoen. *yalad(a)*, Hebr. *yālad*. Cf. Cantineau, "La langue de Ras Shamra", *Syria* 21 (1940): 53. Another characteristic of North-West Semitic found in Ugaritic is the so-called Barth-Ginsberg law: if the imperfect stem has vowel *a*, then the prefix vowel becomes *i*, *yaqtal-* > *yiqtal-*. Cf. M. Sekine, "The Subdivisions of the North-West Semitic Languages", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 18 (1973): 210; and Harris, *Development*, 8. Harris also points out the assimilation of *l* to *q* in forms of the "root" *lgh*, as peculiar to Canaanite and Aramaic, as well as the extension of the bi-vocalic stems with plural suffixes as the regular plurals of uni-vocalic noun stems (in Hebrew e.g. *m'lākim* < *malak-* as plural form to *mælæk* < *malk-*, in Ugaritic *rašm* = *ra'ašūma* plural form to *riš* = *re's-* < *ra's-*), op. cit. p. 9. It should be pointed out that the names employed for the subgroups of the Semitic languages refer to the commonly adopted classification advanced by T. Nöldeke and C. Brockelmann and found in e.g. S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden, 1969); for a refined discussion of the subgroupings of the Semitic languages see R. M. Voigt, "The Classification of Central Semitic", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32, 1 (1987): 1–21.
38. For a survey of research I refer to J. F. Brent, "The Problem of the Placement of Ugaritic Among the Semitic Languages", *Westminster Theological Journal* 41 (1978–79): 84–107. Cf. also Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 144 notes 1–2.
39. This change took place before 1500 B. C., cf. Harris, *Development*, 33; Greenfield, "Amurrite", 97.
40. This feature is pointed out by Greenfield, "Amurrite", 97.
41. Sekine, "Subdivisions", 211.
42. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, § 14.3–4; Segert, *A Basic grammar*, § 12.2 Strangely enough, Goetze refuses to accept this as a common feature, maintaining that the vocalization of *ank* and *an* "remains unknown", see "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?", *Language* 17 (1941): 132.
43. Greenfield, "Amurrite", 98 ff.
44. These changes occurred very early; according to Z. S. Harris before 1500 B. C., see *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 29 f.
45. This feature is pointed out by Greenfield, "Amurrite", 97.
46. M. Held, "The YQTL-QTL (QTL-YQTL) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and in

- Ugaritic", in *Festschrift A. A. Neuman* (Leiden, 1962), 281–290; id., "The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 84 (1965): 272–282. This feature has been observed also by Cantineau, "La langue de Ras Shamra", *Semitica* 3 (1950): 31 f. He rightly notes that "un temps du récit" may begin with "une forme verbale de type *qlt*" and be continued by forms of the type *yql* "(comme il arrive souvent en hébreu) avec ou sans insertion de *w-*". Cf. the study of H. Cazelles, "Note sur l'origine des temps convertis hébreux d'après quelques textes ugaritiques", *Revue Biblique* 54 (1947): 388–393; and Greenfield, "Amurrite", 98.
47. This is pointed out by M. Dahood, "Linguistic Position", 269. Also W. L. Moran, "The Hebrew Language", 61, recognizes Ugaritic *aqr* as a relative pronoun. It should be noted, however, that A. F. Rainey in "Observations on Ugaritic Grammar", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3 (1971): 160, calls for great caution as to the relative function of this *aqr*.
48. One of the first to criticize the routine-like designation "Canaanite" for Ugaritic was Goetze in "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?". Many of his arguments came to be repeated in the subsequent debate and are therefore accounted for in the following discussion.
49. This argument corresponds to Goetze's features (1), (2), and (4); "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?", 128 f., 131.
50. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet*, 107.
51. The importance of the time factor when comparing two related dialects is aptly illustrated by E. Ullendorff, "The Position of Ugaritic within the Framework of the Semitic Languages" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 24 (1954–55): 121–125.
52. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I (Berlin, 1908), § 51g. This is Goetze's feature no. (3) of Canaanite, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?", 129, 131.
53. Harris, *Development*, 44.
54. In text UT 1153 from the royal palace of Ugarit.
55. Segert, *A Basic Grammar*, § 37.2. Additional examples of the shift in Ugaritic is given by Harris, *Development*, 43 f.
56. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I § 51g. The attestation in the Amarna tablets makes the standpoint of J. Blau less probable. He says, "it stands to reason that this feature did not arise in "Proto-Canaanite", but developed in the various dialects independently", Blau, "Some Difficulties", 36.
57. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, § 5.17.
58. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 31 note 2. In this instance it is interesting to note the hypothesis proposed by S. Segert that a language in the periphery of a linguistic group tends to be more conservative than the central sector which is characterized by greater innovation, *Ugaritica* VI (ed. by C. F. A. Schaeffer 1969), 468–473; the account is taken from Brent, "Placement of Ugaritic", 98.
59. Goetze's feature (9); "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?", 130, 132.
60. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, § 257e. The derivation *yi- < ihi-* given as "Eine mögliche Erklärung" in J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome, 1970), § 147, is not likely.
61. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, § 257c. M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1943), § 71.
62. Moscati, *Comparative Grammar*, § 16.11–13. Cf. also the šafel formation sometimes found in Mishnaic Hebrew, the verbs of which are probably loan-words from Aramaic, vide M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927) § 150; Greenfield, "Amurrite", p. 97. M. Dahood and Z. S. Harris have even maintained that there are examples of 'afel causatives in Ugaritic, see Dahood's paper "Some Aphel Causatives in Ugaritic", *Biblica* 38 (1957): 62–73; Z. S. Harris, "Expression of the Causative in Ugaritic", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (1938): 103–111, esp. 110.
63. This is one of M. Sekine's major distinguishing features, see "Subdivisions", 211. A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar* (London, 1907; reprinted Amsterdam, 1974), 424, argues, against D. H. Müller, that Ethiopic never possessed an appended definite article, not even in its earliest stages.
64. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, § 246A. Cf. E. Ullendorff, "The Form of the Definite Article in Arabic and Other Semitic Languages", in *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*, by Ullendorff (Wiesbaden, 1977), 165–171.
65. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, § 246A.
66. S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (München, 1976), § 51.356.

67. Thus, Segert, *A Basic Grammar*, § 12.3.
68. Segert, *A Basic Grammar*, § 35.2.
69. Friedrich & Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, § 216. In the construct state of the dual there was no case vowel or mimation (op. cit. § 226).
70. Thus Köhler & Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, II, Leiden 1974, 423; cf. also G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, I, § 17t.
71. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II, § 45.
72. Harris, *Development*, 59.
73. Friedrich & Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, §§ 91–92, 217; Moscati, *Comparative Grammar*, § 10.8; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, § 43o.
74. S. Parker, *Studies in the Grammar of Ugaritic Prose Texts*, diss., Johns Hopkins University (Ann Arbor, 1970) (unpublished). The dissertation is commented on in Brent, “Placement of Ugaritic”, 106.
75. Goetze's feature (7): “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?”, 129, 132.
76. B. Spuler, “Der semitische Sprachtypus”, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I:3 (Leiden, 1964 (1953)), 4. A similar argument is suggested in Dietrich and Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete*, 311, where the authors maintain that Ugaritic cannot be a Canaanite language.
77. This is observed also by T. L. Fenton in “The Hebrew ‘Tenses’ in the Light of Ugaritic”, in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1969), vol. IV, 31–39. Cf. my dissertation *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth. With Special Emphasis on the Verbal System* (Uppsala, 1987), 27. Also F. Rundgren, *Das althebräische Verbum. Abriss der Aspektelehre* (Stockholm, 1961), 102. Fenton has also effectively refuted the attempts to trace a yaqtall formation in Ugaritic, vide “The Absence of a Verbal Formation \*YAQATTAL from Ugaritic and North-West Semitic”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15 (1970): 31–41. In this respect A. F. Rainey agrees with Fenton, “Observations on Ugaritic Grammar”, 163. A yaqtall formation is proposed by e.g. Goetze in “The Tenses of Ugaritic”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (1938): 266–309.
78. This pertains also to the poetic language of Ugarit, in which the aspectual function of the SC and the PC agrees with that of the archaic Hebrew poetry, cf. Segert, *A Basic Grammar*, § 13.2.
79. In his study of the Ugaritic “tenses”, “The Tenses of Ugaritic”, Goetze makes many valuable observations; he notes that “the *ql* forms of Ugaritic have a descriptive stative connotation” (p. 284), and says: “This use of the *ql* seems very important. It makes us understand how, in West Semitic, the ‘perfect’ could acquire its familiar connotation, namely of past action. The difference between ‘he has an ass yoked’ and ‘he has yoked an ass, he yoked an ass’ is very slight. It is primarily a difference in focus” (p. 283). In his extensive study *Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Schamra* (Kopenhagen, 1941), E. Hammershaimb tries to modify Goetze's results concerning the SC and maintains, not only that the SC in Ugaritic is narrative and “drückt bloss aus, dass die Handlungen abgeschlossen ist”, but also that this feature is Proto-Semitic: “dass der R. S.-Dialekt mit der Entwicklung und Bedeutung des westsemitischen und arab. Perf. auf einer Linie steht, so dass ein Hinweis auf Permansiv irreführend ist”, 72, 75. In this instance, however, he is wrong, and the first scholar to have definitely clarified this fact is F. Rundgren. Cf. B. Isaksson, *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth*, 28 (and the bibliography). The Ugaritic verbal system has been extensively treated by E. Verreet in a series of studies: “Abriss des ugaritischen Verbalsystems”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18 (1986): 75–82; “Beobachtungen zum ugaritischen Verbalsystem”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16 (1984): 307–321, 17 (1985): 319–344, 18 (1986): 363–386, 19 (1987): 337–353.
80. This feature is considered by J. Blau the decisive reason not to designate Ugaritic as Canaanite, vide p. 39 in Blau, “Some Difficulties”. Cf. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 36.
81. M. Sekine puts forward this distinguishing features as one of ten major criteria for a classification of the North-West Semitic languages, vide Sekine, “Subdivisions”, 210.
82. A. F. Rainey, “A Canaanite at Ugarit”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 13 (1963): 43–45; “Ugarit and the Canaanites Again”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964): 101; “Observations on Ugaritic Grammar”, 153. Cf. the account of the evidence given by Brent, “The Problem of the Placement of Ugaritic”, 87 f. note 12.
83. Greenfield comments, that “If, then, the term Canaanite as a general rather than a particular name does not fit the needs of our research any longer, let us seek out a better one – but one that is clear and unequivocal”, Greenfield, “Amurrite”, 101.

84. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, § 14.1.
85. This conclusion roughly corresponds to that of S. Segert, expressed in *A Basic Grammar*, § 12.3. However, the position of Segert is too guarded when he says that “At least some of the conservative features of the Ugaritic language may be explained by its relative antiquity and by the location of Ugarit on the northern periphery of the Canaanite linguistic area” (*ibid.*). I would say that most – if not all – of the features may be thus explained.
86. Greenfield, “Amurrite”, 100–101.

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# Akkadian in Greek Orthography

## *Evidence of Sound Change in an Ancient Traditional Pronunciation*

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Akkadian and Sumerian texts in Greek orthography are very rare. Though known to specialists since the nineties of last century the total number of texts amount to only thirteen, all of them fragments. Very often the 'Greek' version has a cuneiform parallel, either on one side of the tablet or elsewhere in cuneiform literature. It is a fascinating thought that these 'Greek' texts constitute some sort of missing link between the Babylonian past and our own modern present, independent of the cuneiform system of writing, and even today one can appreciate Burkitt's enthusiasm expressed at the beginning of the century that "in the fragments ... we have for the first time a transcript into a European alphabet of the still living language of Babylonia".<sup>1</sup> In fact, the most important linguistic aspect of the texts is the impression we get of a spoken form of written Akkadian in the last few centuries before the final extinction of the language tradition.

In 1962 E. Sollberger published a catalogue of all known 'Greek' texts or Graeco-Babylonica as he preferred to term them.<sup>2</sup> The catalogue included copies and transliterations of old and several new fragments from the collections of the British Museum. Sollberger classified the small corpus of fragments listed in the catalogue as (A) Lexical, (B) Literary (in the widest sense of the term), and (C) Unclassified (p. 63). There were several literary texts, among others a fragment giving the opening lines of the so-called Description of Babylon and part of a Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual incantation against evil spirits. At least two of the group of unclassified texts can now be identified as lexical lists and assigned to group A. A recent addition to the corpus is a tablet in the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum inscribed in cuneiform with a Greek transcription on the reverse. The text is a monolingual Akkadian incantation known elsewhere from a number of manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> On the evidence of palaeography most scholars date the tablets from the second century B. C. to the first century A. D. Dr. M. J. Geller kindly informs me, however, that his palaeography colleagues at University College, London, assume some of the tablets "to be very late, even as late as 2nd century A. D." (personal communication).

Having accepted an invitation from Professor Gösta Vitestam the present writer read a paper on Akkadian texts in Greek orthography at the Swedish symposium on Semitic studies held at Kivik, Skåne, August 5–6, 1988, of which an extended version was published two years later.<sup>4</sup> There the interested reader will find a general discussion of the texts and the text tradition as well as references to the pertinent literature. The paper also treats at some length aspects of orthography and Aramaic influence. The main conclusion was that Babylonian students wrote the Greek texts and that their teachers used Greek orthography for pedagogical

purposes, very much as modern Assyriologists use transliterations. At the beginning of the Christian Era spoken Akkadian, as distinct from written Akkadian, had been a dead language for centuries. Therefore, this writer prefers to see in these texts the evidence of a late Babylonian traditional pronunciation of Akkadian and Sumerian (p. 151).

Since 1988 the Swedish symposium on Semitic studies has grown and become a Scandinavian symposium, not the least due to the efforts of Professor Vitestam. He has been organizer of the meetings and his house in Kivik overlooking the harbour and the Baltic Sea has been the natural meeting place for the participants. In appreciation of his efforts it is a great pleasure to present the following discussion of sound change in the latest phase of Akkadian as a tribute to the Lord of the Kivik Academy.

Greek orthography never became a standard orthography for Akkadian. Therefore, any Akkadian text in Greek orthography presupposes some sort of cuneiform 'Vorlage'. In many cases a cuneiform version appears on one side of the tablet, otherwise we have to look for it elsewhere in cuneiform literature. The language of this Vorlage is late literary Babylonian. As far as phonological form is concerned late literary Babylonian is distinct from earlier stages of the literary language. However, a truly synchronic description has never been attempted and in the following discussion of the traditional pronunciation the better known Standard Babylonian literary language will be used as a frame of reference. The Greek texts will be quoted according to the numbering in Sollberger's catalogue. The abbreviation Geller refers to the monolingual incantation from Harvard published by that author.

**Rule 1:** e → [e:] in unstressed<sup>5</sup> open syllables.

In the article referred to above (note 4) the present writer pointed out that the traditional pronunciation as reflected in Greek orthography had no short e in unstressed open syllables. In this position etymologically short e appears as [e:] spelled η. It was suggested that this is due to phonological interference from Aramaic (p. 157). Contrast

- 1) ελις < *eliš* 'above' A 3.
- 2) βελεθ < *belet* (cstr.) 'lady' B 3.<sup>6</sup>
- 3) ηουχ < *emūq* (cstr.) 'power' B 1.
- 4) μηλ[xx(x)] < *meluhu* 'Meluhha date palm' A 4, compare the corresponding Sumerian entry μηλω.<sup>7</sup>

**Rule 2:** i → [e]/ – h, r.

The orthography of the texts confirms the phonetic (i.e. non-phonemic) split *i* > *i*, *e* and the merger of *e* with old *e* resulting from umlaut of *a* as assumed on the evidence of cuneiform orthography. The Greek spelling has ε irrespective of etymology. A former version of the rule well-known from earlier Akkadian converts *i* to *e* before *h* [x] and *r* in non-initial syllables. However, in initial syllables and in particular in word initial position the rule does not apply as in Standard Babylonian *irat* (cstr.) 'breast' and *iherri* 'he digs'. Inflected forms like *irtu* and *ihri*

are orthographically ambiguous. The late tradition has extended the environment of the shift *i* > *e* to all positions before *h* and *r*, even word initially, as in

- 5) μιτερθ < *mitirtu*, *mitertu* a type of canal A 2.
- 6) βερ < *birri* (gen.) ‘lattice’ Geller.
- 7) εξερ < *ihri* ‘he dug’ A 2.

**Rule 3:** u: → [o:]/ – r.

There are two reflexes of cuneiform *ū/û* rendered by Greek ou and ω. Spellings with ω before *r* suggest an allophonic alternation *ū* : *ō* paralleling *i* : *e* in the same environment (Rule 2). Otherwise spellings with ou and ω contrast as /u:/ and /o:/.

Compare the following forms:

- 8) ιβωρθ < *ina būrti* ‘through the cistern’ Geller.
- 9) σ[α] ωρσο[v] < ša ūrišunu ‘of their city’ B 3.
- 10) ναβο[u]ρων < *Nabū-rīmanni* B 4.
- 11) βιλλοδω<ς> < *billudūšu* ‘its cult’ B 1.8
- 12) ω < ūmi (gen.) ‘day’ Geller, ωει < ūmī ‘days’ B 4.

Due to the complete lack of relevant evidence from earlier stages of the language it is uncertain whether this rule represents an innovation of the language tradition. Outside the environment before *r* spellings with Greek ou and ω can be explained by etymology. The reading of the divine name *Nabū* in (10) with final *û* is supported by biblical evidence. In Babylonian personal names compounded with *Nabū* Hebrew has *nəvū-* < *nabū-* (but once uncompounded *Nəvō* in Is. 46,1). The Septuagint has the same vowel in *Nabou-*. As shown by the genitive form *billudē* the stem is *billuda-* and /o:/ in (11) reflects a merger of stem final *a* + *u*. In (12) it reflects the Proto-Semitic diphthong *aw* of the proto-form \**yawm-*. The phonemic contrast /u:/ vs. /o:/ demonstrated by the Greek texts confirms a discovery made half a century ago by Arno Poebel.<sup>9</sup> On the basis of spelling habits in Old Babylonian texts from Nippur he was able to prove the existence of final long *ō* in infinitives like *qabū* ‘to say’ < \**qabāōum* and *petū* ‘to open’ < \**patāhum* as distinct from final long *ū* in *rabū* ‘great, large’ < *rabium* and *re'ū* ‘shepherd’ < \**rā'iōum*. The etymology of the divine name *Nabū* < *Nabium* fits well into this pattern.

So far the evidence points to a distinction of long /o:/ and /u:/ on etymological lines. In this connection should be mentioned two fragmentary lines of text tentatively identified by Sollberger p. 72 as part of “a (verbal?) paradigm”:

- 13) ]ακων[o][v] / ]ακων[ C 4, the second ς being unfinished and corrected into χ.

Provided they represent preterite forms of *kānu* ‘to last, to endure’, these spellings seem to contradict the neat etymological pattern suggested above. However, there is no context to support the analysis, let alone any evidence to prove that the language of the fragment is Akkadian.

**Rule 4:** [+voice] → [-voice]/ – [-voice].

The rule only applies to consonants and states that a voiced consonant is devoiced before a voiceless consonant. This is a very natural rule, well-known from many languages including several modern Semitic languages, and it very likely operated in earlier Akkadian as well. However, due to the highly conventional character of cuneiform writing evidence for voice assimilation is slight. A case in point is Old Babylonian *šubtum* ‘dwelling, habitation’ attested a number of times spelled with intervocalic *-pa-* as in *šu-pa-at* and *šu-pa-as-sú*.<sup>10</sup> The spellings with *-pa-* for expected *-ba-* suggest a back-formation from *šubtum* pronounced with a medial cluster [pt] according to the above rule. In the Greek texts there is one instance of voice assimilation:

- 14) *ana É-ti la te-r[u-ub-šú (?)]*

[λ]α τηροφς ‘you shall not enter it (cuneiform version ‘the house’)’ B 2.

Unfortunately a break appears at the end of the line in the cuneiform version leaving only a partial overlapping between the two versions. Correct Akkadian requires either *ana bīti lā terrub* ‘you shall not enter the house’ or *lā terrubšu* ‘you shall not enter to him’. The student scribe committed two errors in his transcription. He mixed up the two idioms, and he misinterpreted the verbal form as preterite rather than as present.<sup>11</sup> However, for the question under discussion here it suffice to state that the transcription τηροφς reflects an earlier preterite *tērubšu*.

**Rule 5:** (...) V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>... → (...) V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>... if C<sub>1</sub> is plosive and unless C<sub>2</sub> is *t*.

It is a characteristic feature of the Akkadian texts in Greek orthography that a non-final syllable closed by a plosive consonant is made open by the insertion of a secondary vowel identical with the vowel of the preceding syllable. The rule does not apply wherever there is a long (double) consonant on the syllable boundary or the following consonant is *t* (in all documented cases the feminine ending). Compare

- 15) σαφαλις < *šapliš* ‘below’ A 3 (2x).

- 16) αο[ ]χαλαχ < *Ana-sîn-taklâku* B 4 (personal name).

- 17) ιντχιλειθ < *ina ikleti* (*ekleti*) ‘by night’ Geller, the spelling *ik-le-ti* being interpreted as *ik-li-ti* for /ikli:t/.

- 18) ναφφας < *nappâši* (gen.) ‘loophole’ Geller.

- 19) λιβιθας < *libittašu* ‘its brickwork’ B 1.

- 20) ιναφθι < *ina apti* (cstr.) ‘through the window’ 5x Geller.

A short secondary vowel is inserted in specific environments and all short vowels in these environments are secondary, except in a few instances before *r* as in *nukurtu* ‘hostility, war’, pl. *nukurâti*.<sup>12</sup> After the introduction of the shift these short vowels including those before *r* were phonologically predictable and accordingly non-phonemic. For the late traditional pronunciation of Akkadian, then, the plural form just quoted should be rewritten as phonemic /nukra:t/.

In his GAG 18d W. von Soden noted the existence of so-called ‘Sprossvokale’ in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian letters without committing himself to the ques-

tion whether these vowels were actually spoken or they should be explained on a purely graphic basis. Several Assyriologists favour the latter view.<sup>13</sup> The Greek texts demonstrate without a doubt that these vowels were spoken. The circumstance that there is no evidence for similar ‘Sprossvokale’ in Aramaic suggests that the development of these secondary vowels in Akkadian was an independent innovation of the language. A few spellings in the Aramaic cuneiform incantation from Uruk<sup>14</sup> would seem to contradict the statement that there is no evidence for ‘Sprossvokale’ in Aramaic. However, the contradiction is only apparent, since all relevant spellings occur in broken plural forms of nouns and seem to represent the source of the entity known from Hebrew grammatical tradition as *shewa medium*, i.e. absence of vowel reflecting a former presence of vowel:

- 21) *ga-ba-re-e* ‘men’ 12.37 (rev. 11),  
*ha-ba-ra-an* ‘(female) companions’ 16.41 (rev. 15, partly broken).  
*ru-ga-ze-e* ‘fury’ 20.24, cf. 30 (rev. 4).

In later stages of Aramaic medial short *a* disappears as in Syriac *gavrē*, modern Turoyo *gawre* ‘men’. The broken plural patterns with *a* after the second root consonant are cognate with the plural patterns of the so-called segolates in Hebrew and with Ethiopic patterns as in *əzän* ‘ears’ (sg. *əzn*) and *abäw* ‘fathers’ (sg. *ab*). The broken plurals of Arabic have different forms.

#### Rule 6:

- a) *m* → [w]/V – V if V is [-rounded],
- b) *m* → zero/V<sub>1</sub> – V<sub>2</sub> if V<sub>1</sub> or V<sub>2</sub> is [+rounded],
- c) *m* → zero/V – #.

Another characteristic feature of the late tradition is so-called lenition of *m*<sup>15</sup> to *w* and zero. Between unrounded vowels etymologically short *m* is rendered Greek *v* as in (10) above and (22, 23) below (Rule 6a). However, if the preceding or the following vowel is rounded, Rule 6b applies and *m* is rendered zero as in (3, 12) above. Initially *m* remains as Greek *μ* in (5) above and (24, 25) below. So does long *mm* in the broken passage (26):

- 22) σανας < Šamaš Geller.  
23) σανη < Šamē ‘heaven’ B 1 (3x).  
24) μαο < mār (cstr.) ‘son’ B 4, Geller.  
25) μαοχας < markas (cstr.) ‘band’ B 1.  
26) ομ[ ] < ummānūtu ‘erudition’ B 4.

In two instances Rule 6b also applies across a word boundary in a construct chain, i.e. in an environment where Biblical Hebrew will use a conjunctive accent. Apparently lenition of *m* operated in Akkadian in very much the same way as did spirantization of *b g d k p t* in Biblical Hebrew.

- 27) ιναφθι οξ < ina apti muhhi ‘through the top window’ Geller.

ιναφθι οσειρ <*ina apti mu-šir-ri* ‘through the upper window’ Geller (error for *mu-šir-ti*, see Knudsen [ref. note 4] p. 154).

The reflexes of cuneiform *m* occur in specific environments none of which contrast. The entities [m], [w] and zero complement each other and we may assign them as variants of one phoneme /m/. Historically the zero allophone can easily be explained as a former glide [w] disappearing in the neighbourhood of rounded vowels. Thus in terms of relative chronology Rule 6a applies before Rule 6b, though without the qualification [-rounded]. The more general Rule 6a now converts all instances of intervocalic /m/ to [w]. Later Rule 6b converts intervocalic [w] to zero, if the preceding or the following vowel is rounded. The allophones of /m/ are the result of a phonemic merger of earlier *m* and *w* to be dated not later than the early Old Babylonian period. Though the majority of Old Babylonian spellings are etymologically correct, variation of *m* and *w* does occur and we find spellings like the personal name *na-aw-ru-um-i-lí* UET 5,133,17 etc. varying with *na-am-ru-um-i-lí* 599,13 etc.<sup>16</sup> The earliest documented cases go back even to the Ur III period.<sup>17</sup> Word initially graphic hypercorrections like Old Babylonian *warhiš* for *arhiš* ‘quickly’ and *wašpuram* for *ašpuram* ‘I sent’ would seem to indicate that a shift *w* to zero had already taken place in the underlying spoken language.<sup>18</sup> Post-Old Babylonian cuneiform tradition treated the allophones [m] and [w] as the orthographic entity modern Assyriologists transcribe *m*, no doubt because cases of etymological *m* were more numerous than cases of etymological *w*. Thus the diachronic evidence of cuneiform tradition confirms the analysis arrived at on the basis of the synchronic evidence of the Greek texts.

Rather unexpectedly there is evidence that *m* shifted to zero in word final position (Rule 6c):

- 28) ζη ουφον«β»θ <*qēmu u upuntu* C1; cuneiform version has [Z]ÍD ú-pu!-un-tú.
- [ζη θα[σκ][ ] <*qēmu tasqū* C 1; cuneiform version has [ZÍD A] [a-si TI][R] (all denoting types of flour).
- 29) ρη <*rēm* ‘have mercy on’ (imp.) B 4.
- 30) ω <*ūmi* (gen.) ‘day’ Geller.

The text of (28) is in a very fragmentary state of preservation, but reading and interpretation as given here are supported by the cuneiform version. In his treatment of the private votive inscription from Leningrad, one of the few texts without a cuneiform parallel, Schileico<sup>19</sup> interpreted (29) as representing *rējî* ‘des Hirten’, syntactically an apposition referring to the preceding personal name (10). Evidently this meaning of the passage does not suit the context very well. Shepherds are not expected to write votive inscriptions asking for “profound learning ... scribal skill (and) erudition for ever”. Once the shift of word final *m* to zero is established an interpretation of (29) as from an imperative *rēm* almost suggests itself. The student scribe Nabû-r̄imanni very likely asked his patron god for mercy, a long life (ωει οοριχ <*ūmī urrik*) and proficiency in scribal skills.

Rule 6c that reduces *m* to zero in word final position applies after the important

rule that reduces final short vowels to zero in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian.<sup>20</sup> The latter to be stated formulaically as

31) V → zero/C – #

converts forms inflected for case like *qēmu* and *qēmi* ‘flour’ to *qēm*, causing at the same time a morphologic merger with the old construct state form *qēm*. Rule 6c then converts the noun *qēm* to *qē* (28) and the verb *rēm* to *rē* (29), or in phonemic terms /qe/ and /re/ vowel length being non-distinctive in word final position at this stage of the language. The sequence of rules in the generative statement corresponds to the actual sequence of historical sound changes. The loss of final *m* occurred after lenition of *m* in specific environments and after loss of final short vowels in Neo-Babylonian, since there is evidence for final [m] as well as lenition of *m* to [w] in Aramaic transcriptions of Neo-Babylonian proper names:<sup>21</sup>

- 32) *rmškn* for *Rēm(u)-šukun* (lit. ‘show mercy’) Delaporte No. 94, Millard p. 4, Vattioni No. 98, contrast *qη* (29).
- 33) *pnbym* for *Pān-nabū-tēm(u)* (lit. ‘before Nabû is judgement’) Delaporte No. 43,<sup>22</sup> Vattioni No. 44.
- 34) *nbwrwn* for *Nabû-rīman(ni)* (lit. ‘Nabû, have mercy on me’) Millard p. 4, Vattioni No. 131, compare *vαβο[v]qιυων* (10).

The modern transcription of Akkadian as used in Assyriology is largely diachronic and conventional and does not reflect the important phonological change (31). The Aramaic transcriptions *rm* (32) and *tm* (33) represent spoken *rēm* and *tēm* with preserved final [m] rather than *rēmu* (earlier *rēma*) and *tēmu*.

The reduction of final *m* to zero is later than Neo-Babylonian and belongs to a phase of the traditional pronunciation in which Aramaic was the underlying spoken language. However, there is no evidence for a similar sound change in the roughly contemporary Uruk incantation. On the contrary, final *m* is preserved in several passages:

- 35) *qu-da-am* ‘in front of’ 11.14.36 (rev. 10). 39 (rev. 13).  
*qu-um* ‘rise’ (imp.) 18.43 (rev. 17).  
*[a]-na-a' ha-ki-mi* ‘I know’ 26 for /ana ḥa:kim/<sup>23</sup>.

Since loss of final *m* has no parallel in contemporary Aramaic, we shall have to look for an explanation within the language tradition itself. As is well known, spellings imitating Old Babylonian forms are often met with in official inscriptions of the Late Babylonian period. It is quite evident that Old Babylonian texts formed part of the school curriculum for the training of a scribe. Otherwise the use of the quasi-Old Babylonian *ασιαθ* [ωετ] B 4 for *ana si'at ūmī* ‘for ever’ would be unexplained. The shift *ia* > *â* already occurred during the Old Babylonian period. In Late Babylonian official inscriptions mimation is very common, as in *a-bi-im* VAB 4.82,20.26 and *a-ba-am* 72,30.45 ‘of my father’ (all gen., compare Aramaic *abbā* ‘my father’). The ancient scribes must have been aware of an orthographic

rule similar to our Rule 6c which converted *abim* to *abi*. Then Rule (31) reduced final *i* to zero. It is suggested that the rule which removed mimation was extended by analogy so as to cover all cases of *m* in final position, even after the reduction of final short vowels to zero.

The application of Rule (31) invites a few comparative comments. The loss of a distinctive feature of length in final vowels in Late Babylonian and in the traditional pronunciation is supported by several parallels from other classical Semitic languages. Compare, for example, the free pronouns for the second person singular masculine and feminine in Biblical Hebrew (36a), Syriac (36b) and Geez (36c):

- 36) a. *attā*, b. *att* spelled *'nt*, c. *antā* < \**anta* (masc.).  
 a. *att*, b. *att* spelled *'nty*, c. *anti* < \**anti* (fem.).

The Hebrew version of rule (31) reduced final short vowels to zero, including *i* of the Proto-Semitic feminine pronoun \**anti*. However, the final vowel of the masculine \**anta* survived the change, but the new phonological structure of the vowel system resulting from the change required it to be lengthened. The reason for the preservation of the vowel can only be guessed at. It may well have been a desire for maintaining the inherited gender distinction in the pronouns. In Syriac the masculine and feminine pronouns merged as *att*, but the conservative orthography preserved the old Imperial Aramaic spellings of the pronouns *'nt* (masc.) and *'nty* (fem.). In Imperial Aramaic the same rule (31) reduced final short vowels to zero, though in the feminine pronoun final \**i* was preserved as *i* to maintain gender distinction. However, a variant spelling *'nth* shows that in the masculine pronoun a reflex of final \**a* survived as *ā*. A subsequent Syriac rule requiring reduction to zero of all unstressed final vowels then shifted early Aramaic *ántā/áttā* and *ántī/áttī* to *att*.<sup>24</sup> Classical Geez restructured the inherited Semitic system of vowel quantity into a system of vowel quality. The ancient long vowels *ī* and *ū* continued as /i/ and /u/, whereas the corresponding short vowels merged as /ə/. Word finally *a* remained, but at least in Post-classical Geez the new /ə/ was lost in this position. Instead of shifting final \**i* to \**ɔ* and later to zero the feminine pronoun *anti* preserved the final vowel as /i/ presumably on the analogy of the final vowel of the masculine form. On the other hand, classical and literary Arabic preserved the Semitic system of vowel quantity. Therefore, the pronouns under discussion appear in this language as *anta* (masc.) and *anti* (fem.). Today this historical analysis may seem commonplace, but in pre-phonemic Semitics it caused considerable difficulties and resulted in the reconstruction of double sets of protoforms, one with a final short vowel the other with a final long vowel.<sup>25</sup>

Let us return to the traditional pronunciation of Akkadian. An effect of rule (31) was that in word final position long and short vowels no longer contrasted. In this environment only long vowels remained. The few etymologically short vowels that survived the change presumably continued as phonetically long. There is only documentation for final /i/, spelled Greek *ι*, from the late incantation published by Geller:

- 37) *twaqθt* < *ina apti* (cstr.) ‘from the window’ (5x),

ιθθι μαρ σανας <*itti mār Šamaš* ‘together with the son of Shamash’ (i.e. a sun ray).

**Rule 7:** #(C)V<sub>1</sub>CC<sub>1</sub># → #(C)V<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub># unless C<sub>1</sub> is *t*.

The loss of final short vowels in Neo-Babylonian, including case vowels, resulted in a large number of monosyllables ending in groups of two consonants. Sometime during the period covered by the Greek texts the final consonant groups were dissolved by the insertion of a secondary vowel identical with the preceding one. Earlier monosyllabic formations now became dissyllabic. However, consonant groups with final *t*, the marker of feminine, were preserved (8 above). The process is similar to segolization in Hebrew and Aramaic and there can be hardly any doubt that the decisive factor in the development was influence from Aramaic.<sup>26</sup>

38) οζον <*uzn* <*uznu* ‘ear’ B 4.

39) φαλαγ <*palg* <*palgu* a type of canal A 2.

40) καβαρ (!) <*qabr* <*qabri* (gen.) ‘grave’ Geller.

## CONCLUSION

During the last phases of its history sound change affected Akkadian on a number of points. To account for these changes seven rules were set up:

- |               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Rule 1        | lengthens <i>e</i> to [e:] in unstressed open syllables. The rule operates due to interference from Aramaic.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Rules 2 and 3 | lower the vowels <i>i</i> and <i>ū</i> to [e] and [o:] respectively before <i>r</i> (and <i>h</i> ). Lowering of <i>i</i> is well-known from earlier Akkadian, but the extension of the rule to apply to all environments before <i>r</i> and <i>h</i> , including word initial position, is an innovation of the late traditional pronunciation. There is no early evidence for <i>ū</i> . |
| Rule 4        | devoices voiced consonants before voiceless consonants and is no innovation. It is a natural rule that can be traced back at least to Old Babylonian. Admittedly, however, documentation is slight.                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Rule 5        | states the conditions for inserting so-called ‘Sprossvokale’ known from cuneiform orthography. The presence of these vowels in texts in Greek orthography proves beyond a doubt that they reflect a phonetic reality.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Rule 6        | refers to lenition of <i>m</i> to [w] or zero. A shift to [w] in intervocalic position is well-known from earlier Akkadian, whereas zero treatment is an innovation of the tradition.                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Rule 7        | dissolves final consonant clusters through insertion of secondary vowels. The process is similar to segolization in Hebrew and Aramaic and due to interference from spoken Aramaic.                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

Rules 6 (zero treatment) and 7 apply after the dropping of final short vowels in Neo-Babylonian. Even though this important sound change dates to the pre-Hellenistic period, the word forms resulting from it constitute the most conspicuous

feature of the Akkadian texts in Greek orthography as seen by the modern Assyriologist accustomed to Akkadian texts in cuneiform orthography.

## NOTES

1. F. C. Burkitt, *PSBA* 24 (1902) 143.
2. E. Sollberger, "Graeco-Babylonica", *Iraq* 24 (1962) 63–72 with plates XXV–XXVI.
3. M. J. Geller, "More Graeco-Babylonica", *ZA* 73 (1983) 114–120 with Fig. 1.
4. E. E. Knudsen, "On Akkadian Texts in Greek Orthography", *Living Waters. Studies ... F. Løkkegaard* 147–161 (Copenhagen 1990).
5. Stress in Akkadian refers to the state of evidence considered conclusive in the author's treatment of the subject in *JCS* 32 (1980) 3–16, particularly p. 15.
6. For the shortening of etymological ē in *beltu* 'lady', see E. L. Greenstein, "The Phonology of Akkadian Syllable Structure", *AAL* 9/1 (1984) 42f. and the remarks by the present writer in *BiOr.* 43 (1986) 728–730.
7. For the reading *melūhū* for conventional *meluhhū*, see Knudsen (ref. note 4) p. 158.
8. Conventional readings of *billudū* are *pelludū* AHw. 853b and *pilludū* CAD N II 21a lexical section.
9. A. Poebel, Studies in Akkadian Grammar, *AS* 9 (1939) 116f.
10. See W. H. Ph. Römer, *Festschrift Adam Falkenstein* 197 (Wiesbaden 1967). W. von Soden, AHw. 1257f. s.v. *šubtu(m)* mentions a few additional attestations.
11. For details, see Knudsen p. 158.
12. Cf. W. von Soden, *GAG* 18c and more recently Greenstein p. 20.
13. Cf. P.-R. Berger, *ZA* 64 (1975) 211 note 15 with references, Poebel p. 61, I. J. Gelb, *BiOr.* 12 (1955) 100 and J. Aro, *StOr.* 46 (1975) 14.
14. TCL 6, 58. For references to transliterations and discussions of the text, see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* 45 note 4 (Göttingen 1984). Beyer refers to a palaeographic dating by J. J. A. van Dijk "um 150 v. Chr.". For the text, see also J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie* (Leiden 1962) Nr. 56 and the Hebrew transcription in J. N. Epstein, *Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* (Jerusalem 1960) 11f.
15. The term lenition was introduced into Semitics by Friedrich and used for describing the variation of orthographic *m* and *b* in Punic, see J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, *AnOr.* 46 (1970) 55.
16. For discussions of the orthographic evidence, see I. J. Gelb, "WA = aw, iw, uw in Cuneiform Writing", *JNES* 20 (1961) 194–196, G. Dossin, "La valeur syllabique *am* du signe pt", *RA* 61 (1967) 19–22, and cf. H. Hirsch, *Or.* 44 (1975) 290 with note 168.
17. Cf. I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 2, 123.
18. See E. Reiner, *LAA* p. 36, but cf. the doubt expressed by her reviewer D. O. Edzard, *BiOr.* 26 (1969) 83.
19. W. G. Schileico, *AfO* 5 (1928–29) 11–13.
20. For the treatment of final short vowels in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian, see *GAG* 13c and the references to literature given by the present writer in *BiOr.* 43 (1986) 731 note 26.
21. For Aramaic transcriptions of Neo-Babylonian proper names, see L. Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméens* (Paris 1912), A. R. Millard, "Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew", *JSS* 21 (1976) 1–14 and F. Vattioni, "Epigrafia aramaica", *Augustinianum* 10 (1970) 493–532.
22. Apparently this is the only proper name attested with *m* in name final position, cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, *AS* 19 (1974) 144 with note 24.
23. For the phonological status of vowel length in early Aramaic, see Knudsen (ref. note 4) p. 155f.
24. For the orthographic aspects, cf. K. Beyer, "Der reichsaramäische Einschlag in der ältesten syrischen Literatur", *ZDMG* 116 (1966) 244.
25. Cf., for example, C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I p. 300f. (Berlin 1908, reprint Hildesheim 1961) and H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* p. 249 (Halle 1922, reprint Hildesheim 1965).
26. See the discussion in Knudsen pp. 159–161.

## Dedication and Devotion

The Introduction to the *Kitāb al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ*,  
Ascribed to Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (d. 654/1257)

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In a few previous studies I have presented various problems pertaining to an important *adab* work, of which I am preparing the *editio princeps*, namely the comprehensive mirror of princes entitled *Kitāb al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ* (see the adjacent bibliography: Kronholm 1984–1986; Kronholm 1990; Kronholm 1991).

This work was brought to my notice several years ago by courtesy of professor Gösta Vitestam of Lund, who had consulted the Gotha manuscript thereof on preparing his *editio princeps* of *Kanz al-mulūk fī kaifiyyat as-sulūk*. The treasure of princes on the fashion of behaviour, ascribed to Sibṭ ibn al-Djauzī. Now edited for the first time from the two MSS Aya Sofya 2021, Istanbul, and Bibliothèque Nationale 3515, Paris. With an introduction and critical, philological and historical notes (1970).

It is, accordingly, most natural to treat a new problem related to this work in a tribute to my teacher, colleague and intimate friend professor Vitestam on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in recognition of his dedication and devotion to classical Arabic literature, likewise in appreciation of his constant and generous endeavours to bring Scandinavian colleagues in the field of Semitic languages together in scholarly co-operation and understanding.

The problem under consideration is that concerning the dedication and devotion speaking out of the introduction to *Kitāb al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ*. True, the formal dedication of the work as represented by MSS A-C and MS D respectively, has been treated in a previous investigation (Kronholm 1991). Here the introduction by Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī according to MSS A (fol. 1b/1-4b/8; mainly identical with MSS B and C) will be the object of a preliminary translation and an interpretation as regards the underlying ideas and the traditional material included.

### I

“It should be observed”, Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī Ibni al-Jauzī (d. 597/1201) remarks in his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudakkirīn*, “that when the natural disposition was created, possessing as it did an inborn love for corroding pleasures and frivolous preoccupations which distract from those things that bring profit, it stood in need of a reformer, a teacher and a warner to restrain it. Metaphorically speaking [the natural disposition] is like water which flows [towards the lowest point]. However, when it is held back by a dam its flowing ceases but then continues again with the opening of the passage. Now, just as it is necessary that one give meticulous attention to the dam in the way of taking effective

measures to fortify it, so likewise it is necessary that one give diligent attention to [the control of] the natural disposition by means of constraining exhortations (*zawājir*)...For this reason the prophets were sent in order to draw peoples to the good and warn them against the evil. Sacred books were revealed to them for the purpose of training and instruction. These prophets were, at the same time, both bearers of good news and warners. Then after them came the learned ('*ulamā'*), all of whom were distinguished by their legal pronouncements (*fatāwā*) and their learning ('ilm). Moreover, the storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) and preachers (*wu‘āz*) were also given a place in this divine scheme (*amr*) in order to exhort (*hiṭāb*) the masses" (ed. M. L. Swartz, Beyrouth 1971, 30f., English section, 106f.).

The ethical argument of spiritual exhortation, which Ibn al-Jauzī gives a general application, receives in the literary genre of the mirror of princes (*Fürstenspiegel*) a particular significance: the behaviour of the ruler – the head of his people – is not merely an example to the masses; it represents an organic government of the body of the nation (for an introduction to this genre, see spec. the classical study Richter 1932, further Gätje 1987:208–220, with numerous references to more recent contributions).

As indicated in my previous studies noted above, the specimen of this literary genre, which now is being edited for the first time, constitutes no exception to this rule.

Let it suffice to recall here that the work has come down to our time through at least four manuscripts, viz. MS Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi 8299, Istanbul, also known as MSS III. Ahmet 2622 (designated by me as MS A), MS Forschungsbibliothek Gotha – Schloss Friedenstein Orient. A 1881 (MS B), MS Dār al-kutub Taşwof [Taşawwuf] 874, Cairo (MS C), and MS Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen Arab. 146 (MS D).

The relationship between MS D and the rest of the manuscripts is very complicated indeed, as I have pointed out in a paper presented to the 14th congress of the *Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* in Budapest 1988 (Kronholm 1991).

The Istanbul, Gotha and Cairo manuscripts are unanimous in presenting the work by the title of *Kitāb al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣiḥ* ("The book of the good companion and advising friend"). These manuscripts are, likewise, unanimous in transmitting a text of this work divided into ten chapters (for a survey of the contents of these 10 chapters, see Kronholm 1984–1986), moreover in explicit remarks to the effect that the work was composed in honour of and to the exhortation of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ašraf Abū l-Muzaffar Müsa ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (d. on Muḥarram 4, 635 / August 27, 1237; for source testimonies, see e.g. EI, New edition, 1, 796b–808a [Cl. Cahen]; Gottschalk 1958: 34–41; Hartmann 1975, s.v. al-Malik al-Ašraf, 343).

The attribution of this mirror of princes varies partially between the manuscripts. However, on the basis of chronological and literary consideration the ascription of the work to Yūsuf Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (d. on Dū l-Hijja 21, 654 / January 10, 1257 must be deemed as ascertained (see Kronholm 1984–1986).

According to the colophon of the Istanbul manuscript, undisputedly containing the text in its most original form, the work was initially composed in the city of

Damascus in 39 days, viz. from Muḥarram 1 until Ṣafar 10, 613 / April 20 until May 30, 1216 (MS A, fol. 218a/6-9). The manuscript was copied by Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abbās al-Ḥanafī in Mosul from an autograph by Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī. The copy was concluded on Rabia I 14, 614 / June 22, 1217, i.e. merely one year after the initial composition of the work.

## II

The introduction to the ten major chapters of *Kitāb al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ* in MSS A-C (in MS A, fol. 1b/1-4b/8) contains in a traditional manner a *ḥuṭba* of an utmost elevated nature, followed by a formal and panegyrical dedication of the work and a description of its aims and contents, all of which reveals the author's genuine devotion to the addressee as well as his humble devotion to God Most High.

The character of this introduction will be disclosed by means of the subsequent preliminary English rendering, essentially following the text of the Istanbul manuscript.

*The first part (MS A, fol. 1b/1-2a/8)*

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise belongs to God, the One, the Eternal, the Judge, the Glorious, the Mighty, the Benefactor, who wrote with the judging pens on the plates of souls the [Koranic] verses of oneness and faith, and kindled the lamps of hearts with the light of success and beneficence. He brought out the descendants of Adam in the land of Nu'mān and divided them into those that are fortunate and those that are deprived. So many despised people were raised, and many exalted were debased. He made pure the hearts of some, and rendered turbid the nature of others, and disfigured them. The people of turbidity are hostile to one another, whilst the people of purity call each other brethren. And they come together in their hearts, even though their dwellings are separated. And they seek each other's advice about the hidden things, in order to remove shortcomings, even if the tongue does not speak. They approach one another to purify their hearts, albeit they live remote from each other. They warn one another concerning profit and loss. They call out each other like watchmen. The wakeful alerts the sleepy. Thus their Lord commanded them in what He revealed in the Koran: "Help one another to piety and godfearing. Do not help each other to sin and enmity" [Sur. 5.3].

Since He has bestowed favours and sustentation, I offer Him praise [as manifold as] the number of the leaves and the twigs, and I admit His oneness, an admission proceeding from evidence. I offer prayer for His Messenger Muhammed, the most honourable creature that has ever been, and for his family and his companions, and their followers in beneficence. May God – He is high – make lasting the state of the 'Abbāsides, and hoist its banner in every place. May everyone who is within the East and the West proceed in the obedience of [fol. 2a] the Imām an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. May God make lasting the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Āshraf, the one who grants victory to religion, the strength [*'izza*] of time: He has watered the plant of justice with the water of grace, and so all his domain is a garden. He has levelled the country with his favourable management, and so his justice is the preserverance of equity. He has straightened matters, protected the border points, and opened the hearts of the believers, and so the mention of him is more fragrant in the noses of good people than the [odour of] sweet basil. He has given generously and supported liberally. He has freely spent his effort and endeavour, and he has prevented his army from oppression, as the soldiers follow the policy of the sultan. And so the hearts of good people love him, as love of that which is created is a token of the love of the Creator. May God unite the pleasure of his earthly life with the pleasure of his hereafter – and the world of the hereafter is truly the life.

*The second part (MS A, fol. 2a/9-3a/15)*

Now then [ammā ba'du], as God – He is praised and high – has bestowed His favours on those who are leaders and politicians, so He has conferred upon them the gift of reform and direction, and appointed them to be saviours of man and executors of His commands. And since guardianship is a means for the safety of people as regards their bodies, beliefs, possessions, nourishments, and the whole of their circumstances, the merit of the one who takes the responsibility for it is evident, as he is the means for the care of the souls and the setting up of rules: through him the iniquities are laid bare, the wronged is given justice from the wrong-doer, the learning is preserved, the obstinate gives in, forcibly [or] peacefully, and the country of God is protected from prattle and errors, as if he had worshiped God – He is praised and high – through the worship of each worshipper. May he develop the fear [of God], and sharpen it [fol. 2b] to the whole of his word [scil. Muhammed's] – God bless him and grant him salvation: "The justice of one hour is better than the worship of sixty years."

If what we have said is proved right, it only applies concerning a man who combines two attributes: honesty and grace. For if guardianship is without grace, the guardian would not be good at managing, and if grace is without honesty, that which should be guarded would be lost. This is proved by what has come down in the Old Book: "[Yūsuf] said: 'Set me over the storehouse of the land – I am a knowing guardian' [Sur. 12,55]."

And God has actually combined the two attributes in the king of the time, and the reciter of the Koran, the posted [fighter], the [holy] warrior, the patient, the victorious, the triumphant al-Malik al-Aṣraf, who is the raiser of the rank of the religion of the [holy] warriors [i.e. the faithful ones], the winner of both secular and religious things, the comfort of souls, and the spirit of hearts, Abū l-Muṣā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb. He has sparked the star of justice, so that its heat is blazing. He has closed the door of injustice, so that it became difficult to open. The provinces have come to order through his directions [lit. pens], and the widows have had no need in his days.

Poem:

He has got the wisdom of Lukmān,  
and the appearance of Yūsuf,  
the kingship of Sulaimān,  
and the truthfulness of Abū Bakr.

He is a youth: the wrongs flee in front of his good reason,  
as Satan flees in front of the Night of Power [cf. Sur. 97].

This [is so] in addition to that through which he is distinguished by preference of justice, rejection of injustice, love of beneficence towards man, and the abundance of piety, together with the attracting [i.e. patronizing] of scholars, the devotion to virtues, and the liberality which made true what we have been hearing about the ancient ones, and what we have been telling about those that are generous. On this path the predecessors have walked, and thereon the prominent masters have proceeded. So, how fortunate this nation is, as God has removed from it [fol. 3a] by his guardianship all griefs. And he is the pillar of Islam and the Muslims, because the strength [is based on] the pens of the learned. Now, the one in whom God has united these attributes He has safeguarded from deficiency and transgression, and He has directed the hearts of the subjects in affection towards him. He has actually given him generously His favours, as the unanimity of hearts to love someone is a proof of loving the True One. The proof of that is what we have been told by 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī l-Majd and Abū Tāhir al-Harīmī; they said: Abū l-Qāsim Hibbat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusain told us; he said: Abū 'Ali ibn al-Mudahhab told us; he said: Abū Bakr al-Qatī' told us; he said: 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad related to us; he said: My father related to me; he said: Yazīd ibn Hārūn related to us; he said: 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh told us; he said: Ismā'il related to us that he had heard his father say: I heard Abū Huraira – may God be pleased with him – relate to me about the Messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – that he said: "If God loves a servant, He says: 'Oh Gabriel, I love so-and-so; therefore: Love ye him!' So Gabriel calls out in heaven: 'God loves so-and-so; therefore: Love ye him!' And then the love of him is thrown down upon the people of the earth, and so he is loved. And if [God] hates a servant, He says: 'Oh Gabriel, I hate so-and-so; therefore: Hate ye him!' So Gabriel calls out in heaven: 'God hates so-and-so; therefore: Hate ye him!' And then hatred is laid down for him in earth, and so he is hated.' This ḥadīth is authentic; Aḥmad [ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal] has transmitted it in his *Musnad*.

*The third part (MS A, fol. 3a/15-4b/8)*

### Section

There are five aims that have induced me to pick up these pearls and thred them in [fol. 3b] a string, embroidered with the chronicles and biographies: The first [aim] is to inform people about his [scil. the sultan's] perfect conduct and his solid mind, and what God has endowed him with of wakefulness and care, in order that thereby the hearts of people might be strengthened. The second [aim] is that the recollection of the merits of this king should be immortal by means of the existence of this book; for as the prayer of the one who prays is cut off at his death, whilst his attachment to the virtues remains forever, so the scholar's writings are his literary offspring: they are his immortalized children. The third [aim] is to recapitulate the biographies of the passed predecessors, the conduct of whom is to be followed up as an example. The fourth [aim] is that, since I have nothing to present to him in accordance with the extent of my belief in him, though he might be in no need of it, I have chosen to present to him an admonition, even though he might do without it, by means of what knowledge he has; yet the recollection is beneficial to believers. And the Messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – said to Ibn Mas'ūd: "Recite to me!" And he said: "Should I recite to you? Why, it has been revealed to you!" He said: "I love to hear it from another than myself."

And 'Umar ibn al-Haṣṭāb – may God be pleased with him – said to Ka'b al-Āḥbār – may God be pleased with him: "Remind us!" And the grandees are still demanding reminder, and are looking for admonition.

My grandfather [Abū l-Faraj 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Alī ibn al-Jauzī] related to us: Ahmād ibn 'Alī ibn Tābit told us, and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maḥmūd al-Bazzāz also told us; he said: [Muḥammad] ibn Nāṣir told us; Maḥfūz ibn Ahmād told us; al-Hāzrī reported to us; al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakariyā' told us; al-Kaukabī reported to us; al-Fadl ibn al-'Abbās ar-Rabi'i reported to us; he said: Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā reported to us about his father; he said: al-Mansūr said: "How much I am in need of four to be standing at my door [fol. 4a], and none to be at my door more virtuous than them." It was said: "Who are they?" He said: "They are the pillars of kingship; and the kingship will be right only through them. As for one of them, he is a judge who will not adduce before God the reproof of any reproacher. The second is a head of the police who treats the weak with justice against the strong. The third is a tax-collector who does not suppress people, for I [scil. the ruler] am in no need of their suppression." Thereupon he bit his index finger three times, saying every time: "Oh!" It was said: "Who is the fourth?" He said: "He is a postman who writes [his] reports in accordance with the truth."

The fifth [aim] is to inform the High Council [of the ruler] of my allegiance and my affection, and also my constant prayer [for him], and my praise. And [the Messenger] – God bless him and grant him salvation – has said, according to what we were told by my grandfather, Abū l-Faraj 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Alī ibn al-Jauzī; he said: Abū l-Fatḥ al-Karūhī told us; he said: Ibnu 'Āmir al-Azdī and Abū Bakr al-'Aurājī told us; they said: al-Jirāhī told us; he said: Sidār reported to us; he said: Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān told us; he said: Nūr ibn Yazīd told us about Habib ibn 'Ubaid about al-Maqdām ibn Ma'dikarib; he said: [The Messenger] – God bless him and grant him salvation – said: "If one of you loves his brother, he should tell him [that he loves him]." at-Tirmidī said: "This *hadīth* is authentic."

I have divided this book into ten chapters; and if approval befalls it, this is in agreement with my good hope; and if not, I have done my utmost, and God is the giver of success.

### Account of the titles of the chapters

The first chapter: On his [scil. the sultan's] birth and origin.

The second chapter: Elucidation of the need of exhortation.

The third chapter: On what it behooves the sultan to employ [as regards means and persons].

The fourth chapter: The honour of leadership and its significance.

The fifth chapter: The benefit of justice and the help of the troubled [fol. 4b].

The sixth chapter: In dispraise of injustice.

The seventh chapter: On the holy war.

The eighth chapter: A selection from the biographies of the rulers.

The ninth chapter: A selection of stories about pious men and ascetics, and their utterances, and [about] those who have come to the rulers [to give advice and to ask for reward], and those who have not.

The tenth chapter: On the exhortation of the ancestors of the rulers, and [of] those who received their rewards, and those who did not receive it. This chapter is subdivided into two parts, the first we have mentioned, and the second is an account of a group of sultans and princes who have become ascetics. And when we have finished this second part, we have concluded the book with some little things and choice items, and ten chosen tales. By relating them we have aimed at the descending of the [heavenly] blessings.

Now we commence this book with the blessing of God – He is high.

### III

These three different parts constituting the introduction to *Kitab al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ*, ascribed to Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (d. 654/1257), will be commented upon in subsequent order.

#### *The first part (MS A, fol. 1b/1-2a/8)*

This part consists mainly of a customary praise of God in an elevated, rhymed prose.

Its first subsection after the *basmala* (fol. 1b/1) is opened in a traditional manner with *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* (1b/2) and concluded by a Koranic quotation (Sur. 5,2).

The sentence *aḥraja ḍurriyyata Ādama bi-ardī Nu'mān* (1b/4) is interpreted in the light of Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, 5/294a (cf. also Dozy 2/700a).

The second subsection is introduced by *ahmaduhu* (1b/12), and it is concluded by the phrase *wa-inna d-dāra l-āḥirata lahiya l-ḥaywān* (2a/8). Here reference is made to the Imām an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1b/15-2a/1), the 'Abbāsid caliph (1180–1225; see in particular Hartmann:1975), and, naturally more eloquently, to the sultan al-Malik al-Āṣraf (2a/1-8), in honour of whom Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī has composed his *Kitab al-Jalīs aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ*.

The presentation of al-Āṣraf as *'izzati z-zamān* is based on the obvious reading of MS C and the probable reading of MS A; curiously MS B seems to read *'urrati z-zamān*, which is a reading so clearly contrary to the context that it must be an error of the copyist. In view of the dubious manuscript situation, even a reading like *ġurrati z-zamān* might be considered.

#### *The second part (MS A, fol. 2a/9-3a/15)*

The second part, the beginning of which is traditionally marked by *ammā ba'du* (2a/9) and the end of which is apparent from the following *faṣl* (3a/15), aims at pointing out the true character of the guardianship (*walāya*; see further e.g. 2a/11 2b/3; 3a/1), which God has entrusted to the sultan, especially the two necessary attributes “honesty” (*amāna*, 2b/2) and “grace” (*fadl*, 2b/2), which are said to have been united in al-Malik al-Āṣraf, Abū l-Muẓaffar ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (2b/5-8).

The argument of the author is supported by various kinds of material: parts of a *ḥadīth* (without any *isnād*, 2b/1); a Koranic citation from Sur. 12,55 (2b/4f.); a set of two verses (2b/10f.); and ultimately a second *ḥadīth* with a full *isnād* (3a/5-15).

The first *ḥadīth* quoted partially and lacking an *isnād* in 2b/1 is quoted again in

full in 18b/13-19a/5, where it is adduced on the authority of “my grandfather” (*jaddī*) with a complete *isnād* going back to Abū Huraira (ad-Dūsī al-Yamānī, d. 57 or 59 A.H.; see e.g. Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 277f.; Abū Nu'aim, *Hilyat al-auliyyā'*, 1/376-385; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb at-tahdīb*, 12/262-267; and Ibn al-Jauzī, *Şifat aş-ṣafwa*, ed. Haidarābād, 1/285-289; ed. Aleppo, 1/685-694; al-Quşşaş, 50). This *hadīth* is not included in the major, early compilations, but it is transmitted e.g. in Ibn Manqad, *Lubāb al-ādāb*, 35; and al-Mandārī, *at-Targīb wa-t-tarhīb*, 3/135; parts of it are also found in al-'Ajlūnī, *Kaşf al-hafā'*, 1/310 (No. 1004). It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Jauzī transmits this *hadīth* in his *al-Miṣbāh al-muđī'*, 1/207, with an *isnād* that goes from Zafar ibn 'Alī back to Abū Huraira; it is also included in his *aš-Šifā'*, 45, though in a somewhat different form, with an *isnād* going merely from 'Alī ibn Tābit back to Abū Huraira. The opening text of this *hadīth* as transmitted here is attested by MSS A-C both here, in 18b/13-19a/5, and in the version of *al-Miṣbāh al-muđī'*, 1/207, whereas the version included in *aš-Šifā'*, 45, opens with *sā'atu 'adlin min sultānin ḥairun min 'ibādati sittinā sanatin...*

The second *hadīth* (3a/5-15) is supplied with an *isnād*, which goes from 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī l-Majd [al-Ḥarbi] and Abū Tāhir al-Ḥarīmī back to Abū Huraira. In the text it is stated that this *hadīth* is authentic (*ṣahīḥ*) and transmitted by Ahmād [ibn Ḥanbal] in his *Musnad*, where it is actually found in 2/509 in an almost identical textual form and with an accompanying *isnād* going from 'Abd Allāh [ibn Ahmād] back to Abū Huraira (cf. also *Musnad*, 2/314; 2/341; 5/263). This *hadīth* is, however, included in varying form and sometimes as from an authority other than Abū Huraira in a number of other sources (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance*, 1/200b, incomplete), e.g. Muslim, *Ṣahīḥ*, Birr 157 = 2/448; translation 1385f.; al-Buhārī, *Ṣahīḥ*, *Tauhīd* 33 = 3/9/173f. = translation 4/619 [see also ed. Leiden, *Adab* 4/122; *Bad' al-ḥalq* 2/308]; at-Tirmidī, *Ṣahīḥ*, *Tafsīr Sur.* 19 = 5/317f.; Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, *Sa'ar* 15 = 953; see in addition Abū Nu'aim, *Hilyat al-auliyyā'*, 3/258; 7/141; as-Sā'atī, *Minḥat al-ma'būd*, 2/46f., No. 2013. It is noteworthy that the first half of this *hadīth* is transmitted by Ibn al-Jauzī on the authority of Abū Huraira (although without any *isnād*) in *al-Miṣbāh al-muđī'*, 1/87; as well as in his *Zād al-masīr*, 5/266.

### *The third part (MS A, fol. 3a/15-4b/8)*

The third and concluding part of the introduction (3a/15-4b/8) is devoted to a presentation of the five reasons that have induced the author to compose *Kitāb al-Jalīs aş-ṣāliḥ wa-l-anīs an-nāṣīḥ* (3a/15-4a/11), further to a survey of the contents of the ten chapters that constitute the work (4a/11-4b/8).

As regards the former subsection, it is noteworthy that the author elucidates the fourth reason adduced, viz. to admonish the sultan, by means of three minor pieces of tradition: one mirroring a conversation between the Prophet and Ibn Mas'ūd, another one containing a dictum by 'Umar ibn al-Haṭṭāb to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, and a third one being an utterance by al-Manṣūr with a full *isnād*, all of which are aimed at illustrating the need for admonition.

The first piece of *hadīth* is attributed without any *isnād* to [Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh] Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32 or 33 A.H.; see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *at-*

Ṭabaqāt, ed. Leiden 6/7; 3/1/106; ed. Beirut 6/13f.; Ibn Qutaiba, al-Ma‘ārif, 249; al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, Ta’rīḥ Baġdād, 1/147-150; Abū Nu‘aim, Ḥilyat al-auliyyā’, 1/134-139; and especially Ibn al-Jauzī, Ṣifat aṣ-ṣafwa, ed. Haidarābād, 1/154-168; ed. Aleppo, 1/395-422; EI, New Edition, 3/873-875). In a somewhat varying textual transmission and with different *isnāds* this *ḥadīth* is found in several of the early collections (cf. A. J. Wensinck, Concordance, 3/208a), e.g. al-Buḥārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān 35 = 2/3/243 = translation 3/541f.; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, Salāt, ed. Cairo 1960, 2/195; Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, ‘Ilm 13 = 2/291; Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, 1/432f.; see also Ibn Sa‘d, aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, ed. Beirut 2/342; aṭ-Ṭabarānī, al-Mu‘jam aṣ-ṣaḡīr, 1/75. The same *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Ibn al-Jauzī in his al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī’, 1/169f., though in a partly differing textual form.

The subsequent brief story of the request of the caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb to Ka‘b al-Aḥbār is, likewise, adduced in order to emphasize the constant need for spiritual exhortation. Ka‘b al-Aḥbār (d. in 32 or 34 A.H.) was a Jew, well versed in the biblical scriptures and Jewish law and legend. He migrated from Yemen to Medina in the reign of ‘Umar and became a Muslim; he ultimately died in Syria (on his life and teaching, see e.g. Ibn Sa‘d, aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, ed. Leiden 7/2/156; Ibn Qutaiba, al-Ma‘ārif, 430; Abū Nu‘aim, Ḥilyat al-auliyyā’, 5/364-391; Ibn al-Jauzī, Ṣifat aṣ-ṣafwa, ed. Haidarābād, 4/174-176; ed. Aleppo, 4/203-205; Salwat al-ahzān, 123; Ibn al-Atīr, al-Lubāb, 1/322; ad-Dahabī, Tadkīrat al-ḥuffāz, 1/52; Ibn Hajar, al-Iṣāba, 3/315-317; EI, New Edition 4/316b-317a). The formulation of the request of ‘Umar naturally suggests that Ka‘b ibn Aḥbār was on remarkably intimate terms with the caliph. The story accords well with the related, more comprehensive report concerning the conversation between Ka‘b and ‘Umar as transmitted by Ibn al-Jauzī in his al-Quṣṣāṣ, 33, § 55.

The positive values of admonition is further underlined by means of the quoted utterance by al-Manṣūr, the second ‘Abbāsid caliph (136/754-158/775). The dictum is transmitted e.g. in aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta’rīḥ, ed. Leiden 1/398; aṭ-Ṭartūšī, Sirāj al-mulūk, 62, in slightly different formulations (on the Prophetic utterance referred to in 4a/2, see Ibn Māja, Sunan, Ḥudūd 3, No. 2540, 2/849). In our text the utterance is adduced on the authority of Ibn al-Jauzī (“my [maternal] grandfather”, *jaddī*, 3b/12), who has included it e.g. in his al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī’, 1/183f., where it is introduced merely by the phrase *wa-kāna al-Manṣūr yaqūlu*, whereas in our text an *isnād* is supplied, according to which Ibn al-Jauzī refers to the authority of (Abū Bakr) Ahmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ṭābit (i.e. the famous author of Ta’rīḥ Baġdād, viz. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, d. 463/1071; see e.g. GAL 2 1/400f.; GAL S 1/652; EI, New Edition, 4/1111a-1112b; Leder 1984:101-107; among Ibn al-Jauzī’s works, see in particular al-Muntaẓam, 8/265-270). As regards the ultimate link of the chain of transmitters as given in our text, viz. Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Isā, i.e. al-Manṣūr’s son ‘Isā, see Ta’rīḥ Baġdād, 6/134.

In addition the author expounds the fifth reason for composing the book, viz. to inform the ruler’s High Council of the allegiance and affection of the writer, by quoting a *ḥadīth* with full *isnād*, to the effect that one who loves his brother should tell him this, i.e. demonstrate his love by means of good and friendly conversation and pieces of useful advice. The Prophetic tradition is cited in our text with explicit reference to the authority of “my [maternal] grandfather [*jaddī*]

Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Jauzī’, who is said to have learned it from Abū l-Fatḥ (Abū l-Malik ibn Abī l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sahl al-Qāsim ibn Abī Manṣūr) al-Karūḥī (d. 548 A.H.; see e.g. Ibn al-Atīr, al-Lubāb, 3/39; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Šadarāt ad-dahab*, 4/148; and especially Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Muntażam, 10/154f.; Maṣyāḥa), under the supervision of whom Ibn al-Jauzī once had studied at-Tirmidī’s *Şahīh*, and Abū Ismā’īl al-Anṣārī’s *Maṇaqib* Ah̄mad ibn Ḥanbal (see Swartz 1971:19, note 2). In our text as well as in Ibn al-Jauzī’s *at-Tabṣira*, 2/299, where this *ḥadīth* is cited, the earliest authority is said to be al-Maqdām ibn Ma’dikarib; the *ḥadīth* is also quoted in Ibn al-Jauzī’s *Maṇaqib al-Imām Ah̄mad ibn Ḥanbal*, 282. This *ḥadīth*, which according to our text is attested by at-Tirmidī as being authentic (*şahīh*, 4a/11), is found not merely in that source (*Sahīh*, Zuhd 54), but also in other compilations of Prophetic traditions (cf. A. J. Wensinck, Concordance, 1/406a; 4/327a), e.g. in Ah̄mad ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad* 4/130.

As concerns the second subsection, finally, it is to be pointed out that the formulation of several of the titles of the ten chapters appears to be dependent on the headings found in Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Jauzī’s *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī* and *aš-Šifā'* (for particulars, see Kronholm 1984-1986, 251f.).

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# »Dann senke das Haupt und gib ihr nicht im Zorn!«

Eine testamentarische Verfügung des Königs 'Amdä-Şeyon aus dem Archiv der Hs. London, BM, Or 481

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Äthiopische Handschriften aus dem Besitze von Kirchen, Klöstern, aber auch Würdenträgern, wie etwa Hofrichtern, haben neben ihrem Haupttext zuweilen Beischriften in Form von Glossen oder aber auf freien Blättern oder Spalten. Diese Beischriften beinhalten zumeist rechtliche Vorgänge wie Landkauf oder Pacht, Abgabenverzeichnisse, Landschenkungen oder Belehnungen, Inventare über Immobilien und Wertsachen wie etwa Altargeräte oder Bücher. Daneben finden sich auch Verträge: Heiratsurkunden, Amtseinsetzungen, z. B. von Äbten oder Vorstehern von Kirchen; schließlich rechtliche Regelungen verschiedenster Art, von Ordnungen für den Königsrat und dessen Gerichtsverfahren bis hin zu persönlichen Verfügungen eines in der Regel hochgestellten Erblassers. Aus dem aufgezählten Inhalt wird klar, daß solche Dokumente historische Quellen ersten Ranges nicht nur zur Ereignisgeschichte und Chronologie, sondern auch zur Prosopographie und historischen Geographie,<sup>1</sup> sowie zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Äthiopiens sind. Auf die Bedeutung solcher Archive – als solche sind einige der Hunderte solcher Dokumente enthaltenden Handschriften wirklich zu bezeichnen – hat schon I. Guidi aufmerksam gemacht und Beispiele im äthiopischen Originaltext veröffentlicht; leider aber weder Übersetzung noch Kommentar geliefert.<sup>2</sup> Das *liber Axumae*, das C. Conti Rossini später im CSCO herausgab, war im Grunde eine solche Urkundensammlung betreffend Besitz und Rechte der Zionskirche in Aksum.<sup>3</sup> G.W. B. Huntingford hat später eine historische Würdigung dieser Dokumente aus der Sicht eines Historikers versucht.<sup>4</sup>

Vereinzelte ähnliche Sammlungen und Dokumente sind in den letzten Jahren veröffentlicht worden, etwa von Tadesse Tamrat.<sup>5</sup> Aber eine systematische Sammlung dieser Urkunden und ihre Auswertung mit den Methoden der quantitativen Geschichtsschreibung liegt noch nicht vor. Dies mag insbesondere an den sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten liegen, denn es handelt sich um stark abgekürzte Texte, *aide-mémoires*, zu deren Verständnis die Kenntnis des betreffenden Vorgangs und der Realien wesentliche Voraussetzungen sind. Zudem sind viele Dokumente nicht in der Literatursprache Gə'əz, sondern in der Gebrauchs- und AlltagsSprache – zumeist Amharisch, aber auch Tigrinya – abgefaßt, genauer in einem eigentümlichen Gemisch der verschiedenen Sprachen. Die Literatursprache verfügte eben nicht über den notwendigen Wortschatz der Rechtssphäre, noch vermochte sie die vielen konkreten Dinge zu benennen, wenn es z. B. um Anweisungen für die königliche Küche ging.<sup>6</sup> Somit sind diese Texte zwar hervorragende Quellen zur Sprachgeschichte der lebenden Semitensprachen Äthiopiens, aber nur mit größten Schwierigkeiten zu erschließen. Diese sprachliche Erschlie-

Bung muß gleichzeitig oder sogar vor der inhaltlichen Auswertung erfolgen; beide bedingen einander und oft ist der Bearbeiter auf eine glückliche Intuition zur Auflösung einer Abkürzung, Deutung eines elliptischen Syntagmas oder ähnlicher Texträtsel angewiesen.

In den letzten Jahren hat D. Crummey mit der Sammlung und Aufbereitung solcher Dokumente begonnen. Neben solchen aus der *University-Library* in Cambridge, der *British Library* (früher *British Museum*) in London, hat er Kodices aus Bägəmdär, die für ein Unesco-Projekt verfilmt wurden, und einige andere aus dem Besitz von Kirchen und Klöstern Äthiopiens herangezogen. Seine Daten sind auf einer Computerdatenbank<sup>7</sup> gespeichert und versprechen reiche weitere Ergebnisse zur äthiopischen Geschichte, über die bereits in Vorveröffentlichungen in Artikeln gebotenen hinaus.<sup>8</sup> Ein Schüler von R. Pankhurst befaßt sich seit einiger Zeit mit den Marginalia der Handschriften in der British Library.<sup>9</sup>

Während meiner Arbeit über die Chronikensammlung des Däggazmač Ḥaylu wurde ich auf diese Quellen- und Textgattung aufmerksam.<sup>10</sup> In manchen Chroniken sind solche Urkunden in den Text eingeschrieben, somit ganz wie in der modernen Geschichtsschreibung als Quelle verwandt. Die Ordnung des königlichen Hoflagers und Banketts habe ich in einem Beitrag zum 8. ICEtSt behandelt; eine kritische Ausgabe dieses schwierigen Textes ist im Druck für NEAS.<sup>11</sup> Seine Übersetzung und Auswertung scheitert noch an ungedeuteten altamharischen Wörtern, an denen der Text reich ist. In der Suche nach Paralleltexten, die weiteren Aufschluß über die Bedeutung geben könnten, kam mir, unabhängig von den bereits laufenden Projekten, der Gedanke, diese Texte systematisch in den Handschriften aufzuspüren, zu sammeln und auszuwerten. Dies führte folgerichtig zu einer Zusammenarbeit mit Crummey und dem Schüler von R. Pankhurst, die in den Vorbereitungen zu einer gemeinsamen Datenbank mündete.<sup>12</sup> In einer ersten Studie über Däggazmač Ḥaylu konnte ich einen anschaulichen Aktenvorgang, von der Gründungsproklamation für den Bau einer Kirche über die Urkunde mit den dazugehörigen Landschenkungen und Abgabenverzeichnissen dieser Ländereien unter ihrem früheren Besitzer, und nun Schenker, zusammenstellen.<sup>13</sup> Dabei fielen auch Ergebnisse über die rechtlichen Vorgänge, die Erstellung der Urkunden und die Verteilung der Bezeugung durch Einschriften in andere Bücher an, die erlaubten, ein nun schon ein strukturiertes Projekt zu beginnen: Das Archiv einer Kirche in Gondär von der Gründungsgeschichte in den Chroniken, über die Urkunden, die diese Kirche mit ihren Rechten selbst betreffen, bis hin zu den Dokumenten, in denen die betreffende Kirche eine Zeugen- und Garantenfunktion für rechtliche Vorgänge anderer Institutionen und Personen übernimmt. Diese Studie hoffe ich als Monographie mit allen relevanten Texten herauszugeben. Aus der Zeugenfunktion vieler Urkunden ergibt sich, daß Dokumente zu einer Kirche in Archiven der anderen Zeugeninstitutionen zu finden sein müssen und umgekehrt. Ein glücklicher Zufall der Überlieferung fügte es, daß im Falle der angesprochenen Kirche auch der größte Teil der Zeugenurkunden, zumindest für die Gründung, in verschiedenen Handschriftensammlungen Europas vorhanden sind.<sup>14</sup> Daß eine solche Serie zu finden war, ist im Grunde der Raublust des Kaisers Tewodros II. zu verdanken, der um die Mitte des 19. Jhdts. viele Kirchen- und Klosterbibliotheken ausplündern und die Beutestücke auf seine Festung Maqdala verbringen ließ. Mit

der Beute der Engländer nach dem Fall von Maqdala kamen dann diese ungewollt zusammengestellten Teilarchive nach Europa.<sup>15</sup>

Die Hs. BM Or 481 (= WrBM II, lb-6b) ist ein Teil dieser einzigartigen Sammlung. Ihre reichen Illustrationen belegen, daß sie vom Hofe, oder aber aus einem sehr reichen Kloster oder Kirche stammt. Ein Besitzvermerk besagt: *Orit zä-Mädhane-‘Aläm* = »Altes Testament der Erlöserkirche«, eben der Kirche in Maqdala, die Tewodros II. als Bibliothek diente. Dies war die vorläufig vorletzte Station dieser Prachthandschrift von 209 folia im Format von 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  auf 14 inch = ca. 37,5 × 35,5 cm. An ihr ist das in der Einleitung Gesagte schön zu verdeutlichen; gleichzeitig soll in einem Beispiel aus dem Schatz ihrer über 50 eingeschriebenen Urkunden der Wert dieser Texte für die historische Forschung verdeutlicht werden. Dies Dokument erlaubt uns darüberhinaus einen Blick auf die menschliche Seite eines sonst nur aus der offiziellen Hofgeschichtsschreibung und deren Komplement, der klerikalen Kreisen entstammenden *Kurzen Chronik* bekannten Herrschers.<sup>16</sup>

Die Bezeichnung »Altes Testament« sagt nur die Hälfte über den Haupttext. Es ist eine Sammelhandschrift, die neben AT und den Evangelien noch den Senodos enthält. Dieser Fülle von Haupttext entspricht das gedrängte Format und die extrem kleine Schrift des Kodex, die eine jüngere Paläographie des Äthiopischen als Extremfall bezeichnet.<sup>17</sup> Ein weiterer solcher Extremfall liegt mit der Hs. d’Abbadie 118 vor; hier wissen wir warum: es ist die gedrängte und platzsparende Abschrift einer umfangreichen Chronikensammlung auf Bestellung.<sup>18</sup> Das Gleiche gilt für den Kodex BM Or 481: es ist die geplante und platzsparende Abschrift verschiedener wertvoller Vorlagen. Ein Dokument aus der Handschrift belegt diese Behauptung. In den Haupttext sind weiterhin viele Glossen und Beischriften der Vorlagen eingetragen, zuweilen als solche gekennzeichnet, da durch Handschrift und Anordnung nicht mehr als solche markiert.

Der Haupttext einer Handschrift hat in der Zeit nur eine Dimension: den Zeitpunkt der Abschrift (das ist auch der Zeitpunkt an dem die Vorlagen noch existierten). Die zeitliche Tiefe, etwa der Vorlagen, ist lediglich hypothetisch und textkritisch zu rekonstruieren; spätere Änderungen des Textes spielen im Allgemeinen nur eine geringe Rolle. Lediglich wechselnde räumliche und institutionelle Bezüge können sich in verschiedenen, z. T. auch gelöschten Besitzvermerken dokumentieren. Was die eingeschriebenen Dokumente betrifft, so sind hier drei Dimensionen und die verschiedenartigsten Bezüge zu Institutionen und Orten zu unterscheiden. Ein derart in eine Handschrift eingeschriebenes Archiv kann drei Schichten haben:

Die Urkunden zur Entstehung der Handschrift: Abfassungszeit, Vorlagen, Bestimmungsinstitution und Anlaß. Diese Schicht setzt sich in der Zeit fort, wenn der Kodex in der betreffenden Institution ein Archivkodex wird, d. h. Beurkundungen von Rechtsvorgängen dieser Institution weiter eingeschrieben werden. Dies können Vorgänge sein, in denen Kirche und Kloster als Beteiligter auftritt (Landschenkungen, Verkäufe, Pachtverträge, Ernennungen von Würdenträgern), oder aber als Zeuge für andere Kirchen oder Personen betreffende Vorgänge. So ist es zuweilen schwierig zu entscheiden, welcher Institution der Kodex ursprünglich gehörte ; doch kann man davon ausgehen, daß die Institution, die als Beteiligte

oder Zeugeninstitution in vielen Urkunden *und* in jeweils wechselnder Rolle auftritt, die Heimat des Kodex ist. Freilich haben auch Bücher ihre Geschichte; sie können den Besitzer wechseln. Wenn sie dann weiterhin als Archiv dienen, wird sich die veränderte Rolle in den Einträgen widerspiegeln. Kurz, vom Entstehungszeitpunkt und -ort ausgehend bieten die Urkunden eine Geschichte der Handschrift, wie eben in unserem Falle bis zu Magdala. Diese Geschichte ist in großer Plastizität erkennbar: wechselnde Schrift, Sprache und Formular der Urkunden geben Aufschluß über historische Veränderungen.

Diese Plastizität verliert sich zugunsten einer flächenhaften Darstellung in der anderen historischen Dimension des Archivs, die jedoch immer noch als historische Quelle verwertbar ist. Ermöglicht wird diese Verlängerung in die Zeit vor Entstehung der jeweiligen Handschrift, durch den Brauch, sei es aus Gründen der fortbestehenden Rechtswirksamkeit, sei es aus Gründen der Bewahrung von Tradition und historischer Erinnerung, aus den Vorlagen nicht nur den Haupttext zu übernehmen, sondern auch alle dort eingetragenen Urkunden. Der erste Fall ist einsichtig, wenn die neue Handschrift einen Gebrauchskodex, wie ein Evangelium, nach Verschleiß ersetzen mußte. Da lag es im Interesse der Institution, bei Übergabe des alten Kodex in die Geniza, oder einfach Ausscheiden der Handschrift, nicht nur den Haupttext, sondern auch, in besonderen Fällen wohl *vornehmlich*, das Archiv zu retten. So sind die Sammlungen der Urkunden der Zionskirche in Aksum, bekannt als das *Liber Aksumae*, und etwa das *Evangelo d'oro* von Däbrä-Libanos entstanden<sup>19</sup>. Im Falle des *Liber Axumae* verzichtete man schließlich ganz auf den Haupttext; so entstand eine unabhängige Archivsammlung. Freilich sind es nun in der Abschrift nicht mehr die Originaleinträge in ihrer historischen Vielfalt, die eine ganz besondere Quelle darstellen; sie sind einförmig in der Handschrift des Abschreibers geboten. Doch ist in der Regel der Einschreibeort der gleiche wie im Original, wenn auch oft in den fortlaufenden Haupttext eingeschrieben und nicht mehr als Glosse. Eine weitere Folgerung ist wichtig für den Historiker: Relativ junge Handschriften können auf diese Weise authentische und zuverlässige Texte von Urkunden aufweisen, die viele Jahrhunderte in die Geschichte zurückreichen. Es wird in jedem Fall zu prüfen sein, ob ein bestimmter Überlieferungsweg möglich oder wahrscheinlich ist, aber nichts spricht dagegen, in der Abschrift eines Evangeliums aus dem 18. Jhd. den zuverlässigen Text einer Verfügung des Königs 'Amdä-Şəyon aus dem 14. Jhd. zu finden. Die Möglichkeit von Fälschungen ist nicht auszuschließen, aber doch im Rahmen der eingeschränkten Schriftlichkeit in Äthiopien viel unwahrscheinlicher als vergleichbar im europäischen Felde. Zudem weisen viele dieser Urkunden so charakteristische Eigenarten in Sprache und Formular, Realien und Personennamen etc. auf, daß sie nur sehr schwer erfunden werden konnten. Des weiteren haben die Texte oft Lücken, wo die äthiopischen Abschreiber nicht weniger Mühe beim Lesen hatten als moderne Bearbeiter; Schreibfehler in seltenen, alten Wörtern und Titeln, sowie Anmerkungen wie etwa: »aus dem Archiv (*däbdabbe*, Landverzeichnis) des Evangeliums der Marienkirche« und Lücken geben zudem deutliche Hinweise auf den Zustand der Vorlagen. So fol 154 r, wo Teile des *Şər'atā gəbr* für den Kopisten schlicht zu schwierig waren.<sup>20</sup> Auch die doppelte Eintragung von Dokumenten, die vorkommt, ist als typischer Abschreibefehler aus einem schwierigen Dokument zu betrachten.<sup>21</sup> Unter diesem

Blickwinkel gilt es die erhaltenen Sammlungen zu betrachten: Nicht unbedingt die Authentizität solcher Urkunden, die auf Könige aus der aksumitischen Zeit zurückgehen wollen, verteidigend, möchte ich doch zu bedenken geben geben, daß dies nicht unmöglich, vielleicht nicht einmal unwahrscheinlich ist; sicher aber ist der größte Teil des Materials von der Zag<sup>w</sup>e-Zeit an authentisch. Gelingt es nun, die drei Schichten des Archivs der Handschrift BM Or 481 bestimmten?<sup>22</sup>

Es ist einfach, Zeitraum und räumlichen Bezug des Archivteils festzulegen, der sich durch die wechselnden Handschriften und Einfügungen als Glossen oder auf leeren Spalten und Seiten als späterer Zusatz zu erkennen gibt. Dabei handelt es sich, abgesehen von dem schon erwähnten Besitzvermerk aus der Bibliothek des Tewodros um Urkunden über Landschenkungen und deren Bestätigungen an eine Kirche in Däräsge (fol. 4r), einige Orte um Däbrä-Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>am und Däbrä-Bärhan. Der Zeitraum läßt sich sehr klar begrenzen, vom 10. Regierungsjahr des Königs Iyasu I. (= 1684/85 n.Chr.) bis zu einer Urkunde des Königs Śahlu (1832–40; 1844–55 n.Chr.), die den Anschluß an die Zeit des Tewodros bringt. Mit dem Kreuzkriterium – gleiche Institution oder Person jeweils wechselnd als Beteiligter bzw. Begünstigter und Zeuge – läßt sich aus diesem Material kein eindeutiger Bezug gewinnen. Es bleibt als Ergebnis, daß dieses Buch sicherlich nicht das »Hauptarchiv« seiner Institution war. So bleibt der Versuch einer Bestimmung durch herausragende Urkunden in der Sammlung. Hier sind drei Stücke zu nennen:

1. Auf der ursprünglich unbeschriebenen Vorsatzlage fol 2 und 3 steht die äthiopische Übersetzung eines im Original wohl arabischen Briefes des alexandrinischen Patriarchen Johannes (XVIII., 1727–1745 n.Chr.) aus dem (koptischen) Jahre der Märtyrer 1460 = 1744/45 n.Chr. an den äthiopischen König Iyasu II. Der ungelenk eingemalte Briefkopf mit der christlich-arabischen Formal *bismi llāhi ar-rāūf ar-rahīm* und ein mir nicht deutbares Monogramm lassen auf die direkte Vorlage eines arabischen Originals schließen, was für den Abschreiber die Nähe zum Hof voraussetzt. Der Inhalt des Briefes ist die feierliche Bestätigung der Schenkungen des Königs und seiner Mutter Məntəwwab an eine neue, von ihnen gegründete Marienkirche in Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>am, eben das berühmte Kloster Däbrä-Śähay, für das sich ja auch noch eine weitere Urkunde findet.<sup>23</sup> Die prominente Einschreibestelle in der Handschrift, sowie die vielen weiteren besonderen Bezüge zu Maria lassen daran denken, daß der Kodex später als Geschenk an das Kloster Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>am kam. Externe Daten werden freilich diese Vermutung ausschließen. Die deutlich ältere Handschrift des Haupttextes, etwa auf die Mitte des 17. Jhdts. zu datieren, weisen ferner darauf hin, daß die genannte Urkunde nichts mit Entstehungszeit und -ort zu tun hat.

2. Fol 4 r findet sich ganzseitig ein Auszug aus den Annalen des Königs Iyasu I. (1682–1706 n.Chr.) mit dem Bericht über die Gründung des Klosters Däbrä-Bärhan im zehnten Jahre seiner Regierung. Darin liest man interessante Einzelheiten, z. B. über die Glocken, die der Kaufmann Murad als Geschenk der Holländer aus Ostindien nach Gondär bringt. In den anschließenden Landlisten taucht als Notar und Zeuge der Hofrichter Kəflä-Maryam auf, dessen Familie eine besondere Rolle in der äthiopischen Historiographie spielt.<sup>24</sup> Im Anschluß daran stehen mehrere Urkunden über die Rechte bestimmter Personen an Ländereien des Klosters. Diese Urkunden sind von Bäkaffa<sup>25</sup> und Täklä-Giyorgis. Doch auch

ein besonderer Bezug der Handschrift zu Däbrä-Bärhan ist auszuschließen, es handelt sich auch hier nur um Zeugenerkunden. Ein erstes Indiz dafür ist, daß die Königsannalen in dieser Zeit und bis anfangs des 19. Jhdts. in dieser Kirche verwahrt wurden. Es bestand somit gerade keine Notwendigkeit, hier Auszüge aus diesen Texten anzulegen.<sup>26</sup> Auch für die Entstehungszeit ist das Jahr 1685 n.Chr. nach Ausweis des paläographischen Befundes für den Haupttext deutlich zu spät.

3. Ein weiteres Gründungsdokument (fol. 209 v am Ende des Senodos), diesmal über die schon angesprochene Bä'ata-Kirche in Gondär liefert zwar nicht direkt die gewünschte Identifikation, stellt aber Verbindungen zu den beiden anderen Urkunden her und gibt den Hinweis auf die entscheidende bibliographische Quelle. Die Gründungsgeschichte ist ausführlich in den Chroniken erhalten, wo auch die Archive (= Handschriften) genannt sind, in die die Zeugenerkunden eingetragen wurden.<sup>27</sup> Diese Liste hat sich als sehr zuverlässig erwiesen; von den acht genannten Handschriften konnten bereits drei in europäischen Sammlungen gefunden werden, und sie weisen tatsächlich die geforderten Urkunden<sup>28</sup> auf (z. B. BM Or 635 = WrBM 83; Paris, BN II2; vgl. ZoCat p. 126 f). Letztere ist ein *Haymanotä-Abäw* aus Qʷəsqʷam; daher ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß ein zweiter Kodex aus der gleichen Institution als Zeuge bemüht wurde. Für Däbrä-Bärhan wird selbstverständlich die Chronik genannt; aus diesem Grunde kann der Zeugeneintrag in unserer Hs. BM Or 481 nicht dafür in Frage kommen. So bleibt unter der Liste der genannten Handschriften vom Titel her nur ein *Orit* = AT aus der Kirche (Ad-däbabay) Täklä-Haymanot des Königspalastes in Gondär. Damit ist der schon eingangs geforderte Bezug zum Hof belegt; doch mehr, als daß sich die Handschrift Ende des 18. Jhdts. im Besitz der genannten Kirche befand, läßt sich daraus nicht ableiten. Kann man nun mit dem *terminus ante quem* 1685 n. Chr. aus dem anderen Teil des Archivs, d.h. den aus den Vorlagen übernommenen Urkunden eine weitere zeitliche Eingrenzung – der paläographische Befund spricht ja schon für Mitte, u. U. frühes 17. Jhdt. – erreichen?

Ohne auf den weiteren Inhalt einzugehen, muß diese Zeitgrenze aus den spätesten übernommenen Dokumenten zu ermitteln sein. Nebenbei bemerkt ist auch dieser Archivteil vom Abschreiber als solcher gekennzeichnet: Während die Spalten des Haupttextes reich mit Randornamenten verziert sind, fehlt bei den sich durch die Übernahme der eingeschriebenen Urkunden der Vorlagen ergebenden Textspalten und Seiten dieser Schmuck. Hier ist nun die erwähnte – doppelt eingeschriebene – Einsetzung eines Abtes in Gəše, der *Mahbärä-Ǝsra'el*, d. h. der Gemeinschaft der königlichen Prinzen dort, durch König Śärṣä-Dəngäl (1563–97 n. Chr.) heranzuziehen. Zur Schließung der immer noch bestehenden zeitlichen Lücke sind wir auf Indizien und Vermutungen angewiesen. Allerdings kam der Relegationsort Gəše während oder nach den Grañ-Kriegen außer Gebrauch; für Wahni, das spätere Prinzengefängnis, das zur Gondär-Zeit Gəše ersetzte, wird das 15. Jahr des Fasilädäs (= 1648 n.Chr) als Beginn genannt.<sup>29</sup> Die eingeschriebenen Urkunden hatten in vielem Gültigkeit für die Mitglieder der königlichen Familie; daher ist wahrscheinlich, daß ihre sorgfältige Mitschrift bei der Anlage der neuen Handschrift auf eine besondere Beziehung zum Hof in Gondär zurückzuführen ist.

Der Schreiber des Kodex oder dessen Veranlasser schließt fol. 154 r die Evangelien und einige Dokumente darauf mit einem persönlichen Hymnus auf Maria ab,

in dem er die drei in der Handschrift enthaltenen Texte (AT-Evangelien-Senodos) als bescheidene Widmungsgaben an die Hl. Jungfrau bezeichnet. Damit ist nachgewiesen, daß der Kodex von vornehmerein als Sammelhandschrift gedacht war. Fünf folgende *Q̄nes* belegen, daß der Autor wohl ein gebildeter Kleriker war. Der Hymnus steht nun in direktem Zusammenhang mit einer weiteren Notiz: fol. 30 r schreibt der *Liqä kahnat* des Klosters Däbrä-Egzi' abəher-Ab von Gəše auf, welche Bücher des Klosters er nach der Plünderung und Zerstörung in den Grañ-Kriegen er wiedererlangen konnte.: 23 Evangelien, 2 Kalenderbücher, 2 Synaxare, 1 Senodos, *mäşhafä məstir, Afä-Wärq* (= Johannes Chrysostomus), ... *Kəbrä-nägäst, 2 tā'amarä Maryam, Gädlä ḥawaryat, 2 mäşhafä milad, Guba'e näbiyat, mäşhafä bərhan* und ein AT. Die Texte unserer Handschrift sind somit enthalten, und viele Herkunftsangeben der Urkunden – aus dem Evangelium von Däbrä-Egzi'-abəher-Ab usw. – belegen, daß die genannten Bücher die Vorlagen waren. König Fasilädäs ließ in seiner Regierungszeit (1632–1667 n.Chr.) im ganzen Lande systematisch nach wertvollen, sonst nicht mehr nach den Verwüstungen der vorausgegangenen Kriege erhaltenen Handschriften suchen und sie abschreiben; dabei entstanden v.a solche umfangreichen Sammelhandschriften.<sup>30</sup> Daß bei der Abschrift alle die Dynastie und ihre Traditionen betreffenden Urkunden übernommen und bewahrt wurden, deutet auf eine Arbeit in der Nähe oder im Auftrag des Hofes hin. Freilich müssen diese letzteren Überlegungen Spekulation bleiben, bis sich weitere Urkunden finden.

Die Urkunden der Vorlagen, die in der Hs. BM Or 481 vom Abschreiber akkurat jeweils am Ende von Abschnitten des fortlaufenden Haupttextes eingeschrieben sind, – somit ist anzunehmen, daß sie ungefähr an der gleichen Stelle, wie ursprünglich im Original stehen – sind im wesentlichen das Archiv des Klosters Däbrä-Egzi'abəher-Ab, das sich bei Amba Gəše in Amhara befand. Dieses Kloster wurde, wie schon aus der Büchernotiz des *Liqä kahnat* Fasilädäs hervorging, in den Grañ-Kriegen geplündert und verbrannt.<sup>31</sup> Daneben stehen einige Urkunden aus einem mir nicht bekannten Kloster Däbrä-Maryam, das in der gleichen Gegend zu lokalisieren ist. Zeitlich reichen diese Urkunden von der Zeit 'Amdä-Şayons (1314–1344 n.Chr.) bis zu Şärşä-Dəngəl. Die bedeutendsten sind sicherlich den beiden Königen 'Amdä-Şayon (I.) und Zär'a-Ya'qob (1434–1467 n.Chr.) zuzuweisen.

Von Zär'a-Ya'qob sind Schenkungsbriebe an das erwähnte Kloster mit der Benennung zahlreicher Reliquiengeschenke erhalten: Teile des Kreuzes Christi, sein Lendenschurz und der Essigschwamm, aus dem er am Kreuze trank, sowie Reliquien acht weiterer Heiligen.<sup>32</sup> Daneben die schon erwähnten Paralleltexte zum Şəratā gəbr.

Von 'Amdä-Şayon finden sich in der Sammlung eine Reihe Feudalurkunden über Belehnung von Vasallen und die Aufzählung der jeweiligen Abgabepflichten. Die zahlreichen und z. T. noch unverständlichen Fachtermini, die sicherlich nicht mehr anfangs des 17. Jhdts. im Gebrauch waren, lassen keinen Zweifel über die grundsätzliche Echtheit dieser Texte aufkommen.<sup>33</sup>

Als Beispiel für den großen Quellenwert und die starke Aussagekraft dieser nun als Originale durch ihren Überlieferungsweg wahrscheinlich gemachten Texte wähle ich eine knappe testamentarische Verfügung des 'Amdä-Şayon, die in ganz

besonderer Weise in Beziehung zu seiner Biographie steht. Der äthiopische Originalex ist im Faksimile der Seite 92v in der – von mir angebrachten – Kartusche in der rechten Spalte in knapp fünf Zeilen enthalten. Das kurze Stück ist von großer sprachlicher Kraft und mag in seiner amharisierenden Diktion durchaus etwas vom lebendigen Worte des Herrschers wiedergeben:<sup>34</sup>

የንግድ፡መ እኩል፡የምርዳታ፡መ፡ለካፌ፡እናም ይ፡ቻ የንግድ፡በ፡ለኩል፡እናም  
 ል፡የምርዳታ፡በ፡ለኩል፡ተኋዕስ፡በአዲስ፡በሁዋጥ፡ተማስዬ፡በረክክነ፡መሰኑ  
 መ፡እናም ተ፡በዚዋጥ፡ይረ፡ርክክ፡ወከ፡የሁዋጥ፡በሙቀቃ፡እብ፡ተኋዕስ፡በ  
 ትጠ፡እናም፡በ፡በቻ፡የነገሥ፡ወበከሰት፡ዘመወቃ፡በ፡በሙቀቃ፡እናም  
 ተኋዕስ፡የምርዳታ፡

»Dies ist die Niederschrift einer (letztwilligen) Verfügung Seiner Majestät 'Amdä-Søyon an die Nachkommen seines Hauses:

Sollte sich nach Unserem Tode Unsere Gemahlin in ihrem Fleisch als stark erweisen, so möge sie auf Unsere Kosten ihren Unterhalt finden. Sollte sie sich aber in ihrem Fleisch nicht stark erweisen, so senke man das Haupt (aus Scham) und gebe ihr (ihren Unterhalt) nicht im Zorn!

Wenn ihre (eventuelle) Verfehlung bekannt wird und das Gerücht geht- sei es nun zu Recht oder aus Verleumdung -: »Sie hat Unzucht getrieben!«, so soll man ihr (das Recht) dieser Verfügung trotzdem nicht versagen!«

Ein philologischer Kommentar vermag kaum die gewichtige Prägnanz des Originals zu vermitteln. Deshalb sei hier nur kurz auf die großen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten dieser Sprache hingewiesen, die sich ihre Kraft und Farbe beliebig aus dem Ga'əz und dem Amharischen schafft. So steht das Syntagma mit dem Königsnamen zu Beginn in einer typischen Doppelfunktion. Da das pluralische Personalsuffix bei *sər'at* »Verfügung« sowohl als *maiestatis* auf den König, als logischer Plural aber auch auf die Nachkommen seines Hauses bezogen werden kann, so steht der Name einmal als *genetivus auctoris* nach der Grammatik der Schriftsprache Ga'əz bei der Verfügung, das andere Mal, in amharischer Weise vorgestellt und nach dessen Regeln mit Unterdrückung des Genitiv-Exponenten nach der Präposition, als *geneticus possessivus* bei den »Nachkommen des Hauses«. Die Ergänzung »letztwillige« ergab sich logisch aus dem Inhalt der Verfügung; das deutsche »Verfügung« gibt nur unvollkommen den Gehalt von *sər'at* »Ordnung, Anordnung«; aber auch »Zeremonie, Tradition« wieder.<sup>35</sup> Im zweiten Satz stehen in doppelter Verschränkung zwei Nebensätze voran, Temporal und Bedingungssatz (hier mit *sobä* eingeleitet). Zu *sənə a bā* vgl. DL 1288; der Sprachgebrauch »sich stark erweisen betreffs einer Sache, in« verdient es, festgehalten zu werden. Für *səga* wurde »Fleisch« statt des sich anbietenden »Körper« wegen der Sprachebene gewählt. Die Bedeutung von *wāhabā* eig. »geben« könnte auch sein »und gebe ihr nicht im Zorn zurück = vergelte es ihr«; allerdings verzeichnet DL 882 nicht diese Bedeutung. *Mäatu* ist schon ganz in amharischer Weise durch das Artikel fungierende

Personalsuffix der 3. Pers. determiniert. Auch die folgende Periode, verschachtelt mit vorangestelltem Temporalsatz mit konditionalem Nebensinn und untergeordneter Gerundialkonstruktion (*bəhilomu*), in die eine direkte Rede eingebaut ist, trägt das Gepräge amharischer Rede.

So bleibt als Letztes, diese Verfügung in ihren historischen und persönlichen Kontext einzuordnen, erstens um ihre Authentizität weiter zu bekräftigen, und zweitens um auch der inhaltlichen Aussage zu ihrem vollen Gewicht zu verhelfen. Der Beginn der Regierungszeit des 'Amdä-Şeyon war von schweren Auseinandersetzungen mit Klerus und Kirche überschattet, über deren Hintergründe wir hier nichts zu sagen brauchen.<sup>36</sup> Vordergründige Vorwürfe und Anklagen des Klerus gegen den König waren dabei dessen Ehegewohnheiten. Nun standen dem äthiopischen Monarchen traditionell mehrere legitime Gattinnen zu, deren Rolle auch genau im Hofprotokoll verankert war. Selbst in der sonst puristischen »Chronik« des Königs wird ganz unbefangen von zwei Frauen gesprochen. Diese Prärogative wurde von der Kirche – widerwillig – geduldet; allenfalls betonte man bei manchen Monarchen explizit, daß sie monogam lebten. Im Falle des 'Amdä-Şeyon jedoch wurde der Vorwurf erhoben, er habe eine oder mehrere Konkubinen seines Vaters zum Weibe genommen; anders auch, er habe zwei Schwestern zugleich geheiratet. Nach Berichten in Heiligeniten und in der *Kurzen Chronik* wurden die unbequemen Moralmahner am königlichen Hofe streng gezüchtigt und dann verbannt.<sup>37</sup> Gleich welchen realen Hintergrund diese Vorwürfe gehabt haben mögen, aus der Verfügung des Königs spricht Lebenserfahrung und weise Distanz. Wir wissen nicht, ob er nur eine oder mehrere Witwen hinterließ; die Verfügung spezifiziert dies nicht, schließt aber wohl auch nicht mehrere Gemahlinnen aus. In späterer Zeit, in der besonders der Rang der Königinmutter mit seinen Prärogativen wichtig war, war es zumeist die *Bä'ältä šəhna*, die erste Gemahlin der Jugend, der diese Würde zustand. Für den Fall moralischer Verfehlung<sup>38</sup> verordnet der König hier nicht nur die Weiterführung des Unterhalts, sondern auch, daß dies nicht im Zorne, sondern in stiller Beschämung erfolgen solle. Über die Versorgungspflicht hinaus stellt er die moralische Anforderung menschlicher Vergbung und Gelassenheit. Entstehen über die Angelegenheit Gerüchte, so soll keine Untersuchung stattfinden, ob diese berechtigt oder schlichte Verleumdungen seien, und die ganze Verfügung unberührt weitergelten.

Wir sehen hier die noble Geste eines Mannes, der moralische Schuld und Verfehlung bei sich selbst kennengelernt hat und weise seinen Nachkommen empfiehlt, solche Verfehlungen nicht zum Anlaß für kleinliche Vergeltung und zum Gegenstand rechtlicher Auseinandersetzungen werden zu lassen.

## ANMERKUNGEN

1. Man denke etwa an die Möglichkeit der Erstellung von Königsitinerarien und Regesten mit Hilfe solcher Dokumente
2. Vgl. GArAb und GNar. Die dort veröffentlichten Dokumente sind in die im Entstehen begriffene Data-Base zur äthiopischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte bereits aufgenommen worden.
3. Vgl. CRLAx.
4. Vgl. HuLaCh.
5. Vgl. TTAbb; das Material mit vielen weiteren Dokumenten aus des Autors Handschriftstudien in

- verschiedenen Klosterbibliotheken Äthiopiens verwertet in seiner äthiopischen Geschichte (TTCh).
6. Besonders in den ausführlichen Hofordnungen für das königliche Bankett oder Anweisungen für die Totengedenkfeste (*täzkar*); vgl. KrSG s.u.
  7. Die verwendete soft-ware, soweit mir bekannt ist *Notebook II* der Pro/Tem Software Inc.
  8. Vgl. etwa Cr AmhDoc; -FamProp; -GondRim; -ThePol; -WomLa.
  9. Ich verdanke diesen Hinweis der Freundlichkeit von R. K. P. Pankhurst.
  10. S. KrHay.
  11. Vgl. KrSG; die kritische Edition des Textes ist im Druck für NEAS. vol. 10.
  12. Crummey's *data-base* basierte auf stark formalisierten Einträgen in Umschrift. Die neue *data-base* wird den Volltext in Originalschrift enthalten, auf den von jedem Sortierkriterium aus, das ja schon auf einer Interpretation beruht, wieder zurückgegriffen werden kann.
  13. Vgl. KrHay 79–112 = PH; KH. Crummey hatte unabhängig von mir die Zeugenurkunde des begründeten Klosters in Äthiopien gefunden und herausgegeben; vgl. CrThePol.
  14. Es handelt sich um die Bä'ata-Kirche, Däbrä-Täbäb, gegründet Ende des 18. Jhdts. von König Täklä-Haymanot II.; vgl. KrHay 246 u. Anm. 6.
  15. Zu dieser Sammlung vgl. RPaLiTe.
  16. Vgl. Perr' AŞ; BassÉt; BégCA.
  17. Vgl. UIÄthPal 441;449; 537–538.
  18. Vgl. UIÄthPal 769, Anm 3;783; KrHay 297 mit weiteren Angaben. Es sei hier angemerkt, daß eine rein beschreibende, ordnende paläographische Untersuchung ihre Grenzen hat; besonders solche Extremfälle können erst mit Hinblick auf Inhalt und Entstehungsgeschichte der Handschriften ihre Erklärung finden. Somit ist also eine ausgefeilte Kodikologie, eine Unterschung der Handschriften in materieller und inhaltlicher Hinsicht und die Zusammenführung aller Ergebnisse bibliographischer Angaben von außerhalb die grundlegende Vorarbeit, auf der eine Paläographie aufbauen muß. Es genügt nicht, einfach paläographische Befunde zu registrieren.
  19. Vgl. CREvDab.
  20. Die Fragmente in der Hs. BM Or 481 sind daher weniger eine textkritische und inhaltliche Ergänzung der bekannten Textzeugen, als eine Bestätigung für den Herkunftsraum der schriftlichen Überlieferung dieser Texte aus dem Bereich der Kirchen und Klöster um Amba Gəše, dem Relegierungsort der königlichen Prinzen, wo die historische Tradition der Dynastie eine ganz besondere Bedeutung hatte. Nicht zufällig sind in der wichtigen Hs. Oxford Nr. 29, in der alle Texte der altamharischen Kaiserlieder, die großen Chroniken und das *Šor'atā gəbr* zu finden sind, auch Gʷəlt-Verzeichnisse der Prinzen, besonders der Generation um Särṣä-Dəngəl erhalten. Die gleiche Gattung von Texten findet sich auch in der Hs. BM Or 481; beide Sammlungen stammen demnach aus dem gleichen Milieu.
  21. Eine Verfügung von Särṣä-Dəngəl findet sich auf fol. 20v und 132 r.
  22. Ein kurzes Dokument daraus bereits bei CRPicTe, § 1, 46–47; Tadesse Tamrat hat in seinem ausgezeichneten Buch über die äthiopische Geschichte zuweilen Dokumente der Hs. herangezogen. Gerade die Studie Tamrats sollte eine Herausgabe und Kommentierung des reichlich verarbeiteten, handschriftlichen und unveröffentlichten Materials anregen.
  23. Vgl. Gİyasu, T 94 ff; V 102 ff; der Fund der Originalurkunde vorgestellt in D. Crummey; Shumet Sishagne: The Lands of the Church Däbrä Şähay Qʷəsqʷam, Gondär. Im Druck für die Akten des 10. ICESt, Paris, 1988.
  24. Vgl. KrHypKC; KrHay, PKA, bes. 245.
  25. Vgl. GYoh, 291/311: Schenkungen an die Kirche Qällamuğ im Ṭana-See.
  26. Vgl. RüppR, II, 129–130.
  27. Vgl. KrHay, 246 und Anm. 6.
  28. Es ist interessant zu sehen, in welch verschiedenen Kürzungen und Textfassungen diese im Prinzip inhaltlich gleichen Dokumente in den Kodices erscheinen. Aus diesem Befund müssen besondere Regeln und Techniken für Textkritik und Edition solcher Dokumente entwickelt werden.
  29. Vgl. GContr III.
  30. Vgl. KrFas; es sei daran erinnert, daß zugleich nach Lehrern und Theologen gesucht wurde, und daß Peter Heyling im Zuge dieses »Regierungsprogrammes« ins Land kam.

31. Nachrichten darüber finden sich in verschiedenen Chroniken, auch von muslimischer Seite; vgl. KrGesch 13; BassHistConq 326 ff; HuHistGeo 130; TTAbb 87–88.
32. Über den Reliquienhandel von Europa über Ägypten nach Äthiopien im 14. und 15. Jhd. werde ich an anderer Stelle handeln. Dieser erfolgte oft im Auftrag des äthiopischen Herrscher, der bestimmte Reliquien bestellte. Berühmt ist der Fall des ägyptischen Kaufmanns at-Tabīzī, dessen Geschäftsverbindungen in Ägypten aufgedeckt und als Hochverrat und Apostasie (*ridda*) bestraft wurden; vgl. z. B. DarrBars, 338–340.
33. Wichtig ist hier schon der starke amharische Einfluß in der Sprache. Dies erweist einmal mehr die sogenannte Chronik des 'Amdä-Şəyon als einen literarischen Text, der keinesfalls die Wirklichkeit der Zeit wiedergibt. So ist es auch verfehlt, die Entwicklung des komplizierten Ämterwesens am äthiopischen Hofe erst der Zeit danach zuzuschreiben, nur weil diese Titel in der Chronik fehlen; dort sind sie in Ga'əz übersetzt; die Originaldokumente sprechen eine andere Sprache.
34. Der Kanzler des Hofes schrieb ja nach Diktat; Einleitungsformeln in den Dokumenten der Handschrift, wie »Niederschrift (täzkarā nägär zä-taşħfā ḡm-qalā nægušnä) sind durchaus wörtlich, und nicht als Schreiberfloskel zu werten.
35. Herrn H. Kaufhold, München, danke ich herzlich für wertvolle Hinweise zur rechtlichen Seite des Textes!
36. Vgl. TTCH 116–117; 186–187; 208.
37. BégCA 7–8; BassÉt 10; 100. Teilweise wird auch der Vorwurf der Blutschande mit der Schwester erhoben.
38. Hier muß auch der Brauch des Brauch des *məlməl* = Auserwählte« angeführt werden. Hochgestellte verwitwete oder geschiedene Frauen konnten sich einen offiziellen Liebhaber nehmen. Dafür sind im Hofprotokoll bei Prinzessinnen eigene Zeremonien für die Hochzeit vorgesehen; vgl. VarSM III, 6–7.

## VERZEICHNIS DER BENUTZTEN ABKÜRZUNGEN UND LITERATUR

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# A Misplaced Letter

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## INTRODUCTION

The MS I 704, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was completed in 882/1477 by the copyist Badr al-Din Muhammad al-Akshāfi. It consists of 252 folios and contains annals of the years 559–744/1163–1343. The title is *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rīkh al-hijra al-nabawiyya*, vol. IX. The author is designated as Amir Baibars ibn Muhyiddīn. The handwriting of the title page is different from the handwriting of the text. This MS was always associated with Baibars al-Mansūrī's historical work *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rīkh al-hijra*. A short extract from the MS, covering the year 694 H, was edited in 1909 by K.V. Zetterstéen who supposed the MS to be an abridgement of *Zubdat al-fikra*, and for a long time his supposition was not contradicted. In 1979 G. Vitestam was able to study the Bodl. MS more thoroughly in his Research concerning Arabic Manuscripts. Vitestam establishes that the Bodleian MS I 704 is an additional MS of the 27th volume of *Masālik al-abṣār* by al-'Umarī.

Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-'Umarī 700–749/1301–1349 was the author of several works. The most famous is *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* in 27 volumes. The last volumes form the historical section that deals with the history of the Arabs in Islamic times. A manuscript of the 27th volume is preserved in Süleymaniye Küütüphanesi Müdürlüğü, Istanbul, formerly Aya Sofia, Stambul 1304 No 3439, (here called the Aya MS).

A comparison between the two MSS, the Bodl. and the Aya, covering the annals of the years 570–583/1174–1187 shows some differences between them owing to the copyists' habits of marking or omitting diacritical dots etc. In some cases there is added information in the one or the other MS. The most interesting case is a long quotation from a letter written by al-Qādī al-Fāḍil. It is inserted only in the Bodl. MS (fo 34 b, 35 a) in connection with the description of the occupation of Tiberias in 583/1187. Al-Qādī al-Fāḍil was one of Saladin's most trusted counsellors, chief of Saladin's chancery at Cairo. He owed his extraordinary reputation among his contemporaries to the exceptional quality of his private and epistolary style.

The occupation of Tiberias is described in the Aya MS fo 44 b and in the Bodl. MS fo 34 b in exactly the same way: "The sultan took up quarters near Tiberias, he laid siege to the town and occupied it by force of sword, but the citadel resisted." After a few lines about the count of Tripoli whose wife commanded the citadel, both MSS have: "and the Franks gathered to meet the sultan." Here the Aya MS continues: "and the battle of Hattin took place", but the Bodl. MS has: "On this occasion al-Qādī al-Fāḍil wrote about Tiberias". There follows a dramatic picture of a besieged fortress collapsing in a terrible fire, in all 26 lines, after which the Bodl. MS joins the Aya MS in: "and the battle of Hattin took place."

## TRANSLATION

*Bodl. 34 b, line 7.*

On this occasion al-Qādī al-Fādil wrote about the citadel of Tiberias: The combatants surrounded it at once from all sides, they followed the observance of the pilgrims and everyone had his arrow of fire like the thrower of fire. By name of arrows instant death crossed the stone-bridges in curved arches, and the fire-drills of the white soldiers sent forth deathly sparks of fire.

The tower looked as if it were tipped over by its armour, or as if it were flying on its wings thanks to the many feathers of the arrows, or as if the breasts showed nipples too full of milk, or as if the tower was a quiver with a swarm of arrows in it. Until the disease of hollowness reached the mortal point, the drunkenness of the tower invaded the joints between the levels of the sleeping walls, and the decline progressed in the remaining patient parts of the fortress. The fire under its outer garments made the look of it naked and shame was the filling of its cover. When it was noon Allah granted victory, but they were recalcitrant. The fortress fell down.

*Bodl. 35 a.*

The law was laid down and the work they had done was in vain. They protected themselves from the raging fire by making fires of fire-wood. The Muslims were cut off from them by a flood of fire. The fortress was a ship on the flood, though not a salvage ship but a wreck. Among the cursed Franks there was one who came to it at once, and actually there was no one who did not come, and he squeezed himself into it, and the leading ropes got around his neck.

The people spent the night walking around the fortress. The fires inside were extinguished but the fires outside surrounded the fortress. Tongues of fire hung like fringes over its front and fell down like tears behind the wall. The people and the stones were the fuel of this infernal fire. The distress cried out to Tiberias in the voice of its emotion: "I speak to you, hear oh neighbour!"

The fire penetrated into entrances by which the mind is oppressed and the command is held back. The infidels said that truly it is one of the most terrible things, and the saying of the proverb that happiness favours the stones was disavowed. The firelight dispensed everybody, whatever his language, from asking about the news until the morning became clear. It was as if the dawn took its light from the fire, and at daybreak it was as if the sunrise coloured the buds with the red dye of the safflower.

Then the servant came forward and pulled out with his hands the stones from the foundation of the fortress, and he razed to the ground the resistant part of the building with its whitewash. He made the cup of fate turn around in it fully, the heads were severed with a cut, and the necks were fastened with a chain.

## COMMENTARY

*Bodl. 34 b.*

The phrase introducing al-Qādī al-Fādil's letter says that he wrote it about Tiberias on this occasion, i.e. at the time of Saladin's conquest of the town of Tiberias in

## بدل ٢٤ ب

وفي هذه النوبة كتب القاضي الفاضل يعني حصن طبرية وفي الحال طافت به المقاتلة من جميع اقطاره ولو تلبية الحجيج وكل من جمرة سهمه كرامى جمارة وعبرت الاجال المسممة سهاما على قناطر القسي المحنية وقدحت زنود البيض شرار جمر المنيه فصارت الابرجة كانها مست Gimyie بسلاحها او كانها بكثرة ريش السهام طايرة بجناحها او كانها صدور اظهرت حشك الصغاير او كانها لازدحام السهام بها كنابين الى ان سرى دا النقوب الى المقاتل ودب سكرها بين المفاصل ورتب الجدران نامية والبلا سار في اعقابها متجلدة والنار تحت تيابها عراة لحاظها والقبح حشو تيابها فلما كان وقت الظهر ظهر الله وهم كارهون ووقة القلعة

## بدل ٢٥ ا

فوق الحق وبطل ما كانوا يعملون وتحصنا من نار الغضب بنيران الحطب وقطعوا بين المسلمين وبينهم بطوفان نار كانت القلعة سفينته الا انها لا سفينه نجا بل سفينه عطب ومن الفرنج الملاعين من وردها عاجلا وان منهم الا واردها واقحم نفسه فيها فاحتقت بعنقه مقاودها وبات الناس مطيفين بالحصن والنيران به مطفية وعليه مشتملة وعدبات السنتها على وجهه منسدلة ومن خلفه مسلة ولفحاتها جهنمية وقودها الناس والحجارة والبلا ينادى طبرية بسان مصابها ايالك اعني واسمعي يا جارة فولجت النار موالج يضيق عنها الفكر ويحجز عنها الامر وقال الكفر انها لاحدى الكبر وجواب المثل في ان السعادة لتخلط الحجر واغنى ضوء نهارها لسان كل امة ان يسأل هذا وذا ما الخبر الى ان بدا الصباح وكأنه امتار منها الانوار وانشق الشرق وكان من عصرها صبغ الازرار فحينئذ تقدم الخادم فاقتلع بيده الاحجار من اساسها ومحا حرون البنيان من طرسها وادار فيها كاس المنون دهاقا وحل الروس ضربا وشد الاعناق وثاقا

1183. The name of Tiberias is also mentioned in the nineteenth line of the letter in the Bodl. MS. It appears from the text that Tiberias is the neighbour who is called upon to help a fortress in distress, and thus it is not the conquest of Tiberias that is described in al-Fādil's letter. Abū Shāma quotes this part of the letter but there is no mention of Tiberias.

The observance of the pilgrims refers to the pilgrims at Mecca who walk around the black stone, the Kaaba, calling out *labbaika*, here I am, at your service. Al-Fādil does not use the word *labbaika*, but by writing *labū* and *talbia* he suggests it to the reader. *Labū* lacks an alif. There are several other cases in the MS where the copyist writes 3rd masc. pl. without an alif.

The word *qala'a*, fortress, citadel, is feminine and the fortress is compared to a woman. The towers are the breasts. The comparison continues in the text below where the feminine fortress is naked under her outer garments and is ashamed of it.

The thrower of fire is Sagittarius, 9th sign of the zodiac. He is under the sign of Jupiter and his element is fire. *Burj* means castle, also in the sense of a sign of the zodiac. It is possible that al-Fādil wanted to suggest the astronomic name of Jupiter, *al-birjis*. According to Lane *burj* can sometimes have the plural *abraja*. The astrologic conception of the stars and planets was communicated by the Arabs to the western world. Abū Mas'ar (d. 885 A.D.) was the author of Introduction to Astrology, which was much read in the Middle Ages.

The disease of hollowness was a very great danger to a besieged fortress. The assailant tried to make mines under the fortress. The mines were prevented from falling in by logs and wooden pitprops. When the mine was big enough it was filled with all sorts of wood and was set on fire. The wooden supports burned, the mine became hollow and could not bear the weight of the walls and towers above it. These parts of the fortress crashed down into the hollowness, one wall followed the other.

The walls were *mutajallid*, patient, tough, in so far as they were unusually strong and resistant. Abū Shāma has a quotation from al-Fādil where he says that the walls were more than ten ells thick and consisted of big blocks of stone, every block measuring seven ells the cube. The Franks had used twenty thousand such blocks to build the fortress, and the lime that they had poured over the blocks to make them hold together had given them more strength and solidity than they had in themselves. They resisted all attempts of an enemy to destroy them.

*Bodl. 35 a.*

The law was laid down, that is to say that by the fall of the fortress the Franks were punished for having violated the law when they broke their promise never to fortify Jacob's Ford.

The leading ropes of a ship were the ropes by which the ship was steered from the helm.

*Munsadila* is an emendation. The MS has *munshadila*, Abū Shāma has *musadila*. The Bodl. copyist does not always distinguish between -s- and -sh-, cf. below where the MS has *qars* instead of *tarsh*.

I speak to you, hear oh neighbour (woman)! This is the last verse of a poem by Sahlus b. Mahlic Fesarita. It is used as a proverb and shows that you mean

something else than what you seem to say. Freytag says: Te dico et audi o vicina! ... proverbio desumtum est. In eo adhibetur, qui verbis quae profert, aliam, quam quae verbis inesse videtur, rem significare vult.

The saying, It is one of the most terrible things, is a textual quotation from the Koran LXXIV, 38. It stands for hell, and the Prophet puts these words in the mouths of the infidels who are terrified at the menace of hell.

*Umma*, people, is an emendation. The MS has *amaqa*, Abū Shāma has *umma*.

The safflower is a thistle-like plant (*carthamus tinctorius*) yielding red dye. The red dye-stuff is prepared from its petals.

Al-Fādil always refers to Saladin as the servant or your servant i.e. the servant of the caliph.

The Bodl. MS has *ḥarūn*, obstinate, resistant. The resistant of the building or construction, cf. English resistant, resistent, adjs., resist, n. Composition applied to surfaces for protection from some agent employed on them.

The MS has *ṭars*, sheet of paper. The emendation *ṭarsh*, white-wash, is more compatible with the context, cf. above where al-Fādil mentions that the white-wash had made the stones more resistant than they were in themselves. The editor of Abū Shāma has *hurūf*, letter, consonant, instead of *ḥarūn*, which leads him to the following translation: il la détruisit comme on efface les lettres d'un parchemin. In this translation the translator has omitted the Arabic word *bunyān*, and he has added a comparative sentence which has no equivalent in the Arabic text, *maāḥā hūrūf al-bunyān min ṭarsha*, which would give: he wiped out the letters of the building from its sheet of paper. The editor does not inform the reader if *hurūf* is authentic or if it is an emendation. The Bodl. MS has a clearly written *ḥarūn* which admits of a translation that follows closely the Arabic text. It is in accordance with the context and there is no need to add an explanatory comparative sentence.

Seven hundred of the defenders were taken prisoner and were sent to Damascus. Saladin gave order to execute the Frankish archers and the Turcopoles. These were Muslims who had been in Frankish service and they were punished for being apostates.

*Dihāq* is an emendation of *dahāf*, and *withāq* is an emendation of *waiāf*.

## SUMMARY

It is obvious that al-Fādil's description of this terrible fire does not agree with the context nor with the historical facts concerning the occupation of Tiberias. But in the history of the crusades there is actually a fortress that collapsed in a disastrous fire. This happened to the fortress at Jacob's Ford in 575/1179, that is eight years before the occupation of Tiberias. Jacob's Ford was the crossing at the upper Jordan where Jacob wrestled with the angel. The tomb of Jacob's daughters in the neighbourhood was a holy place much visited by both Muslim and Christian pilgrims.

The Franks had promised never to fortify Jacob's Ford, but at the instance of the Templars king Baldwin broke the promise and began to construct a fortress there in October 1178. Saladin offered the Franks 100.000 dinars to make them demolish what they had built and abstain from further building, but they refused. Saladin

then said: "Let them finish their fortress, we shall pull it down and no trace of it will be left." Six months later the fortress was finished and its defence was entrusted to the Templars.

In August 1179 Saladin attacked it. The siege lasted five days from 24 to 29 August. The defenders relied on the strength of the thick walls, they hoped to get relieved by the Frankish army, and they protected themselves from any Muslim gatecrashing by having fires burning permanently inside the gates. Thus the sultan's engineers could work outside the fortress without being harassed. They made a mine under the wall and set fire to it, but the wall held. The sultan gave order to extinguish the fire and promised to give one dinar to everyone who carried water from the Jordan.

When the fire was extinguished the engineers widened and lengthened the mine, they set it on fire and the wall collapsed. The fire spread and mingled with the fires at the gates into a sea of fire. Jacob's Ford is not very far from Tiberias, and the Franks who were gathering at Tiberias in order to relieve the fortress saw the smoke and fire rise to the sky. After the fall of the fortress the sultan prolonged his stay there in order to demolish every trace of it, and Jacob's Ford was again a place of pilgrimage.

When describing the events at Jacob's Ford, Abū Shāma in *Kitāb al-rauḍatain*, ed. RHC, refers to al-Fāḍil's letter: *wa min kitāb Fāḍli ilā Baghdād*, and *wa minhi fi wasf al-nār*. It is quite clear that the Bodl. MS and Abū Shāma quote the same letter written by al-Fāḍil. Parts of the letter are quoted by both the Bodl. MS and Abū Shāma, parts are quoted only by the Bodl. and other parts only by Abū Shāma. The letter describes the siege and capture of the fortress at Jacob's Ford in 575/1179.

In the Bodl. MS the quotation from al-Fāḍil's letter ends very abruptly without a conclusion and without an attempt to connect it with the following text. It is not likely that al-'Umarī himself should have made this misplaced and unfinished quotation. The Aya MS does not mention al-Fāḍil's letter, nor has Abū l-Fidā anything about it. The mistake of relating the letter to events of 583/1187 instead of 575/1179 has been made by a copyist, either the last one or an earlier copyist of a hitherto unknown MS. The insertion of al-Fāḍil's letter may have contributed to the Egyptian character of the Bodl. MS and later to the idea that Baibars al-Manṣūrī was the author of this MS.

The proper place of the quotation from al-Fāḍil's letter in the Bodl. MS is in the annals of 575/1179 and not in the annals of 583/1187.

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# The Cultural Context of Arabic Epics and North Arabian Bedouin Poetry

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The lack of epics is a well-known characteristic of ancient Arabic poetry, pre-Islamic as well as virtually all poetry composed in Classical Arabic since then. This is, however, not the only existing form of Arabic poetry. During the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., along with the rise of a complex Islamic urban culture, a cultural dichotomy developed which also affected Arabic literature. The incipient diglossia of the pre-Islamic period deepened rapidly in the urban centres outside the Arabian Peninsula, and by the heyday of the ancient Arabic literature in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., the use of Classical Arabic was restricted to literature and formal speech, and practically all groups of the Arabic-speaking population used dialects of the neo-Arabic linguistic type as their vernaculars. This development led gradually to a situation in which the literature written in Classical Arabic was almost exclusively the literature of the literate élite. For the illiterate masses, contact with Classical Arabic was chiefly confined to the sphere of religion; the only type of literature accessible to them was popular literature, mainly orally transmitted, and vernacular or sub-literary in its linguistic form. In the eyes of the literary élite, all literature that was not composed in Classical Arabic, was "illiterature" and not worthy of serious consideration. The only exception among medieval scholars was Ibn Khaldūn, who in his *Muqaddimah* (iii, 362) expressed his appreciation of popular poetry and clearly stated that good style is not dependent on the use of certain inflectional endings (*fa-l-’rābu lā madxala lahū fī-l-balāgati*). Mainly due to a common disregard for popular literature by Arab scholars, very little is known about the early development of popular narrative art and poetry.

In light of recent investigations, it is beyond dispute that in contradistinction to Classical Arabic literature, Arabic popular literature does include epics. Inside the *sīra* genre, several popular narrative cycles with wide circulation are to be found: *Sīrat ‘Antar*, *Sīrat al-Zāhir Baybars*, *Sīrat al-Amīra Dāt al-Himma*, *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dī Yazan*, and *Sīrat Banū Hilāl*. Over several generations, the first four of these narrative cycles have ceased to be living, orally transmitted traditions. The Banū Hilāl epic is an exception: it still exists in a living, fluid form occurring freely in a multitude of versions. Contrary to other *sīra* literature, the different versions of the Banū Hilāl epic are most often wholly independent of printed texts, so-called yellow books (*kutub ṣafrā*), anonymous folk editions printed on cheap pulp paper. The oral Hilāli tradition is still alive in Egypt, especially Upper Egypt, as well as in the Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, and certain regions to the south of the Sahara desert, the Shuwa region of Nigeria in particular. The tradition is generally known in the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Syria and Jordan as well, but for the most part in the form of prose narratives.<sup>1</sup>

In Western studies the *siyar* are commonly called popular romances, a designation that well suits those *sīra* versions in which long prosaic parts are interspersed

with short pieces of poetry.<sup>2</sup> However, as far as *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* is concerned, there are orally transmitted versions in which poetry plays a dominating role and is only interspersed with short passages of prose, or which lack prose passages altogether. In these versions, the chronologically proceeding narrative elements are woven into the poem, which thus functions autonomously and virtually has all characteristics of epic poetry. It is not only a long narrative in verse, but it also has other important traits typical of epics, e.g. central heroes who stand as symbols vital to the identity of the nation.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, a close inspection of North Arabian Bedouin poetry, locally known as *nabaṭi* poetry, reveals the most significant fact that epics actually are alien to this old but still vigorous poetic tradition. It thus follows the vein of the ancient poetry of inner Arabia, of which it most probably is the organic continuation, an aspect stressed by Saad A. Sowayan with good reason.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of a detailed analysis of a few representative poems of raiding and warfare (poems abounding in narrative elements published by Alois Musil), Michael E. Meeker convincingly shows that Musil's obviously unreflected characterization of the Bedouin *qaṣīda* as a poetic narrative in verses<sup>5</sup> was misleading, as the narrative elements of the poems are only allusions to events which either are supposed to be known to the listeners or are explained in an introductory narrative in prose (*sālfā*). In the poems, all the narrative elements actually occur in disconnected blocks of a few verses, and the narrative continuity of the poem appears to be illusory.<sup>6</sup> In addition to such allusions there are poetic evocations, descriptions of mounts, evaluative verses, threats and promises, panegyric elements, etc., arranged in a discontinuous, fragmentary order.<sup>7</sup> Meeker's observations are not incidental but they hold true of *nabaṭi* poetry in general, at least as far as has been documented to date. The poems do not contain chronologically proceeding narratives which would provide the listeners with background information indispensable to the understanding of the allusions.<sup>8</sup> Besides the lack of narrative, another important element of epics, the dialogue, is absent from *nabaṭi* poetry: there are neither dialogues nor monologues of the persons mentioned by name in the poems, but the only speaker is the poet.

The outlines of the contents of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* – the migration of the tribe from its original habitat in Najd in several waves, beginning in the first half of the 8th century A.D. and culminating in an invasion of North Africa, opened by the conquest of Tunisia in 1051–57 – are rather well known among the Bedouin of Central and Northern Arabia, and many traditions about the early history of the tribe in the Arabian Peninsula and its neighbourhood are preserved among them. It is actually reasonable to suppose that much of the Hilāli tradition in this area originally had the same form as other local Bedouin traditions, viz. poems of *nabaṭi* type, introduced with prose narratives. Therefore, the question arises: How can it be explained that an epic tradition developed outside the area of *nabaṭi* poetry? and further, Why didn't epics spread to this area later on?

The prose passages of *sīra* literature and the *sālfā* narratives preceding *nabaṭi* poems have the linguistic type in common. In their orally transmitted forms they mainly follow the structure of the vernacular dialect, whereas the poems abound in features – both lexical, phraseological and grammatical – of artistic language not found in the vernacular. When set down in writing, the language of the prose

passages is regularly “corrected”; the result is a kind of sub-literary Arabic. Apart from reasons associated with language attitudes, this practice is probably favoured by the fact that the narrative does not have any fixed form nor is it bound metrically. The poems, on the other hand, are usually written down in an unaltered, authentic form.<sup>9</sup>

There are two substantial elements in the poems of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* which do not occur in *nabaṭi* poetry but which in the *sālfā* narratives are characteristic stylistic traits: rapidly proceeding, straightforward narration with verbs mainly in the past tense (perfect), and close-up situations chiefly composed of breviloquent dialogue.<sup>10</sup> There is one more major difference: while the subject matter of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* is a remote heroic epoch in the Middle Ages, *nabaṭi* poetry usually deals with contemporary or relatively recent events. Most *nabaṭi* poems containing narrative elements are composed to celebrate a specific event well known to the audience of the poet. Only when the poem becomes more remote in space and time, does the reciter have to provide the listeners with a circumstantial narrative in order to put the poem in its proper social and historical context.<sup>11</sup>

The most appreciated poems, or more generally, parts of them have a wide circulation and may be preserved and orally transmitted for some generations, but only by way of exception more than two hundred years. The situation is well illustrated by the traditions of the northeastern Arabian tribe of Āl Dhafir, a collection of which was recently published by Bruce Ingham. The oldest poems preserved in the traditions of the tribe come from the 17th and 18th centuries and only consist of one or two pairs of verses, and the earliest poem of some length, consisting of 9 + 8 couplets, is associated with events that took place in the last years of the 18th century.<sup>12</sup>

Among the narrative prose of *sīra* some passages are recited in rhythmic and rhymed *saj'* prose.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps it would be intriguing to suppose that this style was an historical link in a development during which narrative elements were interwoven throughout the poem. However, there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. In the narrative prose associated with *nabaṭi* poetry this kind of intermediate form does not occur, but the feature seems to have developed under the influence of literary models, never finding its way to the Peninsular Bedouin culture area.<sup>14</sup>

When trying to find an answer to the question of why an epic tradition did not develop in the area of *nabaṭi* poetry, it is of crucial importance to pay attention to the social context of the performances of *nabaṭi* poetry and the Hilāli epic. Musil already incidentally mentions that Abu Zēd and 'Alya – two central heroes of the Hilāli epic – “are heroes of stories that are told among the settlers”.<sup>15</sup> This is actually in accord with other available information. To be sure, the main contents and the central heroes of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* are well known among the North and Central Arabian Bedouin, and allusions to them are made in their poetry, but it is significant that these traditions do not belong to the stock repertory of evening entertainments, and relatively few narrative poems are in circulation.

According to the classical description of the Cairo of the 1820s by E. W. Lane, reciters of popular romances used to sit on the doorsteps of public cafés, hired for “a trifling sum of money” in order to attract customers. The number of those poets

in Cairo who "recite nothing but the adventures related to the romance of Aboo-Zayd", "half prose, and half poetry; half narrative, and half dramatic", is by Lane estimated at about fifty.<sup>16</sup> The reciters of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* are reported to recite without book; the only other cycle of narratives still recited without books was *Sīrat al-Zāhir Baybars*, which was the specialty of about thirty reciters. All the other reciters performed from books: "they chant the poetry, but the prose they read".<sup>17</sup> The last-mentioned reciters were only six in number, and their public consisted mostly of "persons with some education". M. Villoteau in his report from the same epoch adds the interesting fact that wealthy listeners, who did not frequent public coffee shops, often commissioned recitations at home.<sup>18</sup>

A good example of the life of a contemporary performer of the Hilāli epic is an illiterate, professional poet and musician from Upper Egypt, described by Susan Slyomovics. This *šā'ir*, whose father and grandfather also used to sing Hilāli epics, works as itinerant poet wandering to peasants' doors, entertaining harvest workers in the fields during rest breaks, and performing at various celebrations where he is paid by a patron to recite portions from the Hilāli epic. Until 1975 he was also a regular entertainer at a café in Edfu.<sup>19</sup> The status of the vernacular-language folk narratives that he and his colleagues recite is, as described by Connally, ambivalent: they are assigned high status as history in the oral culture, but low status in the literate culture.<sup>20</sup> Although the epic is esteemed highly as true history, the social status of this kind of merchant of art, *tājir il-fann*, is low, and it is difficult to find people who would carry on the tradition.<sup>21</sup> Connally reports that a man whom she interviewed in Tunisia at the beginning of the 1970s, reported that ambulant musicians, poets, and storytellers had been officially discouraged by the government after the Independence, as signs of backwardness and illiteracy.<sup>22</sup> On the Arabian Peninsula the situation is quite different. As in pre-Islamic times, many of the renowned poets of the 19th and 20th centuries have been princes and sheikhs. In fact, as pointed out by Sowayan, in premodern Arabia "the gift of poetry constituted an essential qualification for effective leadership."<sup>23</sup>

Also the Tunisian storytellers (*fdāwi*) have traditionally been professionals. For our subject-matter a most relevant piece of information is provided by Connally, who tells us that during the French protectorate in Tunisia the *fdāwi*

"ensured a constant audience over a long period of time (and thus a steady income) by presenting a serial-like continuation of particular tales at special times and places each day over several months, or for as long as he could maintain the interest of a tale. In the case of some narratives, such as *'Antar* or the Hilāli tales, a skilled storyteller well versed in his tradition could stretch the episodes out over a year, while maintaining an interested and paying audience."

The audience of this storyteller, often as large as two hundred, was primarily composed of poor, usually illiterate or semiliterate people as well as of children of all social classes.<sup>24</sup> Professionalism cannot, however, be regarded as a trait that distinguishes the epic tradition from the poetic tradition of the North and Central Arabian Bedouin. Among the latter there are poets who make their living by composing panegyric poems in honour of tribal chiefs, town amirs, or any wealthy

patron, and entertaining people by going to their homes in the evening to chant their favourite poems.<sup>25</sup>

As a matter of fact, the difference between the sedentary and nomadic ways of life most relevant to the types of poetry seems to lie in the role of the patrons and the paying audience. In the cultural context of the Bedouin, tribal chiefs or other wealthy persons were and still are the only patrons of a poet, whereas in settled areas there also were different collective groups of paying public some of which furnished a constant livelihood. In the old urban environments, the ability of professional poets to attract audience evening after evening was of vital importance, especially for those hired by coffeehouse owners. However, since the 1940s, this tradition has been waning. The transition from the old society to modern times is dramatically described in the initial chapter of the novel *Zuqāq al-Midaqq* by Nagīb Mahfūz. The poet who during twenty years has recited Hilāli narratives and poems in a Cairo café is replaced by the radio: *an-nās fi ayyāminā hādihī lā yurīdūnā š-šā'ira wa-tālamā fālabūnī bi-r-rādiyū, wa-hā huwa dā r-rādiyū yurakkab, fa-dā'nā wa-rizqaka 'alā llāh.*

Even if both *nabaṭi* poetry and Hilāli epics make abundant use of formulaic structure, according to the Parry-Lord theory one of the most characteristic features of epics, there seems to be a profound difference in their composition.<sup>26</sup> As a matter of principle, *nabaṭi* poems have originally a fixed form – or at least a form which is intended to be fixed – which the reciters are expected to memorize. To be sure, there are innumerable different, not only shortened but radically altered, often confused versions of certain poems in circulation, but this does not affect the fundamental fact.<sup>27</sup> As a result of the deep-rooted ancient tradition, various formulaic elements are readily at hand; in given rhythmic positions some formulas are interchangeable, which easily leads to slight changes or even to improvised transformations during the performance. As far as epic poetry is concerned, the formulaic elements play a still more important role, and due to the extent of the cycle, the length of the poems, the continuous narration, and the need for slowing down the tempo of the narrative now and then, the reciter can put together “new” verses during the performance or use repeated whole-line formulas.<sup>28</sup>

Harry Norris has correctly pointed out several generic features shared by *Sīrat 'Antar*, *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dī Yazan* and *Sīrat Bāni Hilāl*: for instance, they deal with Arab expeditions into Africa, they describe the Arab-Muslim founders of African kingdoms as civilizing heroes, and they all have a black slave hero.<sup>29</sup> If Connelly's idea about the similarities of the *siyar* as stemming from the common experience of Arab-Muslim identity formation<sup>30</sup> and of the recitations as symbolic reenactment of the “genealogy” is correct, it is only natural to combine this background with the complex social structure of people living in settled areas, in urban centres in particular – and least of all with the Bedouin of Northern and Central Arabia, the core area of *nabaṭi* poetry. Thus the Hilāli tradition, associated with the Islamic conquests and the mass migrations of the Arabs, deals with the history and identity of the Arab *nation*, whereas the traditional Bedouin poetry reflects *tribal* history and tribal identity which are matters of more actual, more local and more individual concern.<sup>31</sup>

Although the Arabic epics have not been consciously created to meet immediate

commercial needs, these might have played a decisive role in the development of long narrative poems. In the traditional Bedouin culture there is no social context that would promote such a development, whereas in the sphere of settled culture, and urban culture in particular, different kinds of groups of paying listeners are found. In Bedouin culture the paying patrons are individual leaders of the group, and there is no need for the poet to attract an audience during a longer period of time, no matter whether the *sā'ir* or *rāwī* belongs to his own tribe or is an itinerant poet.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, there is an essential difference in the performance situation: the audience is not gathered merely for the recital of narratives and poems, but people come together invited by the host, and the recital is only part of an evening entertainment arranged by the host; therefore the poet or reciter is expected to please his patron. This objective is often easily compatible with the satisfaction of the audience. The social context of *nabaṭī* poetry thus favours poems which extol the virtues of one's own tribe and its leaders, an aim which is effectively attained by reciting poems of actual concern, preferably given historical depth with allusions to a glorious past.

## NOTES

1. See Connelly, p. 6f. and references there. Examples of short poems from *Sirat Banī Hilāl*, recently recorded from northeastern Arabia are found in Ingham (1982), pp. 123 and 139f.
2. Svetozar Pantuček, who characterizes the *sīra* genre as a "folk-conceived historiography", sees *Sirat Banī Hilāl* as a "Volksroman", estimating "epic" as the best European term for it, Pantuček, p. 67. See further in Connelly, p. 33f.
3. Connelly, pp. 225f., 234-236.
4. Sowayan, pp. 165-167 and 192; he, however, points out that the paucity of sources makes it difficult to trace the gradual development of the poetic tradition in the Arabian desert. Al-Sa'id, p. 124f., calls attention to a linguistic difference between *al-sī'r al-ṣā'bī bī* and *al-sī'r al-nabaṭī*: the linguistic form of the former type of poetry is local vernacular dialect, whereas the latter has a relatively uniform linguistic form over the whole area where it is composed and recited.
5. Musil (1908), p. 233 ("eine poetische Erzählung in Versen").
6. Meeker, p. 119; the poems analyzed were published in Musil (1928).
7. Meeker, pp. 117-150
8. Sowayan, p. 125.
9. Sowayan, pp. 10 and 53.
10. A third important characteristic trait is brought about by interaction with the listeners: addressing the listeners, comparisons with persons or things present or well known to them, abundant use of demonstrative pronouns and particles, frequent use of ethical datives and descriptive imperatives.
11. For the character of the *sālfā* it is important to note that the Bedouin audience consider these narratives to be real history, Sowayan, p. 125. Remoteness, of course, favours pseudo-historical tendencies in all narrative cycles, see Gerhardt, p. 419.
12. Ingham (1986), pp. 51-62.
13. Some illustrative examples are given by Connelly, pp. 95 and 99f. In the Tunisian version studied by Lucienne Saada, rhymed prose is only seldom used, Saada, p. 42.
14. The use of rhyming prose in works of higher literature, for instance by al-Ḥarīrī and al-Jāḥīz is well known; although a feature not properly belonging to popular story-telling, rhyming prose often occurs also in the 1001 Nights, especially in stock parts like opening and closing formulas, as well as in enumerative, descriptive and sentimental passages, Gerhardt, p. 46.
15. Musil 1928, p. 13.
16. Lane, p. 398.
17. Lane, p. 419f. Rudi Paret, who attended an 'Antar recitation in a simple café in Cairo in the winter

- 1924–25, relates that the reciter spoke Classical Arabic to his illiterate audience, but repeated his narrative in Cairo Arabic in order to make it understood to his German listener, who had spoken dialect to him, Paret, p. 134.
18. Villoteau, p. 232. Slyomovics, p. 4, calls attention to differences between public and private performances. In the former the poet chooses to reduce his punning techniques and to eliminate confusing, multiple meanings, interruptions, and personal references.
19. Slyomovics, pp. 6f. and 10.
20. Connelly, p. 234.
21. Slyomovics, p. 6f. Among the professional reciters of the epic, the subjectively determined status is dependent on the existence of rival groups. Thus, the poet described by Slyomovics looks down on Hilāli poets who accompany themselves on the *rabāba*; he plays the *fār* drum himself, ibid., p. 19.
22. Connelly, p. 17f.
23. Sowayan, pp. 67f. and 194.
24. Connelly, p. 7.
25. Sowayan, p. 102; examples of rewards for panegyrics are given pp. 108–110 (thoroughbred camel mounts). It is worthy of notice that panegyric poems are not only composed by poets seeking material reward, ibid., p. 110.
26. The term formula can be defined in different ways. Thus, Connelly uses a strictly semantic definition of the formula, whereas Michael Zwettler and James T. Monroe in their analyses of pre-Islamic oral poetry use a syntactic or structural definition. In a sample corpus of 54 hemistichs, 51 were wholly or in part formulaic. Calculated on a verbal basis, the method followed by Zwettler, the percentage of formulaic words in the cited passage would be 75.90 percent, but, Connelly adds, had she broadened the base of the referent body to comprise the about 4,500 verses scanned by her, the hemistichs would have been 100 percent formulaic, Connelly p. 46f.
27. Cf. Palva, p. 7, and Musil's account of the act of composing oral poetry among the Bedouin of the Syrian Desert and its western periphery, Musil 1908, pp. 232–234, and Musil 1928, p. 283f.
28. For the use of whole-line formulas by an Egyptian Hilāli singer, see Connelly, p. 105.
29. According to Norris, these traits go back to some common pre-Islamic archetype, one important theme being demonstration of the common ancestry of Arabs and Ethiopians, Norris, pp. 19–22.
30. Connelly, p. 235f.
31. Sowayan, p. 192.
32. Connelly, p. 258; Sowayan, p. 110.

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# Written and Oral Traditions: Mesopotamia Compared with Other Cultures

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Oral traditions, oral agreements, and oral communications have existed as long as there have been human beings who have been able to talk, and it is still one of the most common phenomena in our modern society today. Such phenomena as oral speech may however be complicated to handle, especially for older periods. Therefore the written documentation will be the point of departure for this discussion, and the oral traditions will be discussed as a contrast and supplement to the written.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. THE BEGINNING OF WRITING

The first attestations of written texts can be found in Mesopotamia around 3100 BC. Before this we have, though a very long period, possible predecessors to writing in the accounting system used in large areas of the ancient Near East. The first use of writing in Mesopotamia was for administrative, economic and perhaps business purposes, and rather soon thereafter also for sign- and wordlists as working tools for the scribes. Only gradually, after some hundreds of years did literary and religious texts, as well as royal monumental inscriptions appear. Writing had a parallel or slightly later beginning in ancient Egypt, but the special problems there is not treated here.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. THE CUSTOMARY WRITING MATERIAL

With customary writing material in a culture I mean the material most commonly used for ordinary writing. In Mesopotamia with surrounding cultures like the Hittite empire or Elam, as well as the Indus culture and the bronze age cultures in the Mediterranean area, the customary writing material was clay tablets, a rather imperishable material. In most other areas, like ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, as well as most Medieval and Modern societies the customary writing material was less durable, such as papyrus, parchment or paper. That which is written on the customary writing material of a culture is normally preserved in archives or libraries.

In addition to documentation on the customary writing material of a culture, writing was also done on more durable materials, such as stones or metals in the form of monumental inscriptions (monumental inscriptions are used here in a very wide sense including also e.g. inscriptions on clay pots). Essentially, the same materials are used for such inscriptions in a variety of different cultures, quite independent of the customary writing material of each respective culture.

In ancient cultures using perishable writing material, monumental inscriptions greatly dominate the written material preserved in original form to present day. In

addition we sometimes have later copies of traditions which may have been originally written in ancient times and are now a part of our own cultural heritage, like the classical Greek and Roman literary texts as well as the Bible. It is therefore very difficult to determine what was written down in ancient cultures with the practice of using perishable writing material.

On the other hand, ancient cultures that customarily used rather durable writing material, such as cuneiform clay tablets in ancient Mesopotamia, give us a much better possibility to study written traditions. When the documented areas of a culture are reasonably well established, it is possible to define oral traditions as such areas, which were not documented in writing or which existed as an oral tradition beside a written one. Therefore the relationship between oral and written traditions can most profitably be studied in ancient cultures which used clay tablets or in modern societies because all contemporary documentation is available. Let us first look at the written documentation in the Mesopotamian culture that had cuneiform clay tablets.

### 3. ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

First a distinction: a library I define as a collection of literary texts in a wide sense, i.e. such texts which in moderns time are normally printed as books. Archives on the other hand contain administrative, economic and juridical documents as well as letters, which mostly existed in only one, sometimes a few, copies. Archives and libraries were often treated separately in antiquity, but not always.<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1. Archives

Throughout the centuries cuneiform texts were placed both in official and in private buildings. "Official" archives belong to institutions such as temples and palaces. These archives are found in all cities and in many of the official buildings. The number of texts in an archive could vary between a few and more than 10,000. The official archives concern the administration of the temple or palace referred to: incomes (e.g. taxes and gifts) and expenses were noted as well as the responsibility of the persons concerned. In addition to the administrative documents there were often letters concerning the administration of the temple or the palace, or in the royal palace concerning questions for the king or the country.

Family archives could be found in the private houses. In the rather extensively excavated areas with private houses in the cities Assur and Ur between 1/4 and 1/6 of the private houses still contained archives at the time of the excavation. The family archive was normally placed in an innermost room of the house. The archive contained, in addition to private letters, such documents which were of interest for the family members to preserve. The most common documents found in family archives are documents of loans, which should be considered valuable, sometimes concerning investments in business enterprises, but most often just simple loans given to private persons for interest and sometimes security. Rather commonly attested are also documents concerning the purchase of the house where the family lived or of a slave belonging to the family. With some families there are documents

concerning marriages, divisions of inheritance and legal disputes. Some persons having official positions also kept documents related to their work at home.

### 3.2. Libraries

Literary texts, in a wide sense, is a somewhat later phenomena than economic and other types of documents. During the first centuries after the invention of writing, religious and other similar traditions were probably still, to a large extent, transmitted orally. Even after hymns, prayers, myths, epos, etc., had been written down, they probably had to be memorized by heart in order to be used.

The most common type of library seems to be the private one. Usually a learned man or family had copied or collected texts, which were of professional importance – but individual taste may also, to some extent, have influenced the selection of texts in the library. Several such libraries existed in most cities. Some examples may be given from the city of Assur: the temple singers had in their library many hymns and prayers, the scribes had many lexical lists, astronomical and astrological texts, and the exorcists – who functioned as physician – had in their large library with about 800 hundred cuneiform texts a large number of incantations and medical prescriptions, which both were used by the exorcists to treat sickness.

Some libraries also belonged to temples or palaces. The most well-known is the library of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) in Nineve. The king, who was proud of his literary education, collected or copied literary texts from the different parts of his country – and especially from Babylonia.<sup>4</sup> Another, somewhat later, large cuneiform library has recently been discovered in the Shamash-temple in the Babylonian city Sippar. This large temple library was found well preserved still on the shelves in one of the rooms of this large temple complex.<sup>5</sup>

So far I have treated the libraries and the archives separately. This was often the situation with literary texts and documents in separate rooms of the same building. In other cases the library was combined with an archive, i.e. placed together in the same room.

## 4. INSCRIPTIONS ON IMPERISHABLE MATERIALS

A large number of cuneiform texts especially monumental inscriptions, often done on stones or other durable material, have never belonged to any archive or library. These were often royal inscriptions, which were the official historical records of the king that should be preserved for later generations. Such texts almost always dealt with a monumental official building, e.g. a temple, palace or town wall, which the king had built. These texts were either placed visibly on the walls of this building, or more often placed inconspicuously inside the walls to be found by later generations.<sup>6</sup>

The Assyrians very often extended these monumental inscriptions by means of a long and detailed propagandistic account of their wars against their enemies, a theme also to be seen in their well known wall-reliefs in the palaces. The Babylonians on the other hand did not use such war accounts in their royal inscriptions, nor in their art, therefore giving the impression of a peaceful nation, which was hardly correct.

## 5. ORAL AND WRITTEN

The oral communication existed before the writing was invented and of course even after. In many Mesopotamian family archives important documents are missing. For example, many divisions of inheritance were made without documentation. About 2/3 or more of the private houses had no cuneiform documents: Perhaps all of the agreements were oral. Also within the official administration written documentation was limited to specific administrative routines whereas others were made orally. It should not be forgotten that also for official institutions with a large number of written texts, there were always the day-by-day oral communication and agreements.

Learned men, temples or palaces had sometimes large libraries, but literary and religious traditions on clay tablets were probably mostly learned by heart by those who used them. The written literary documentation was mostly for the purpose of studying and for preservation of part of the cultural and religious heritage. For example, the temple singers certainly did not sing their songs from clay tablets, but recited them them by heart. For the majority of the people the oral literary and religious tradition was the only one, simply because they could not read.

In this way we can see that writing and oral traditions and agreements appear together in cultures using writing as a medium. The system of writing was used in administration, economy, business, private law, communication, literature, religion and propaganda. Furthermore the oral communication, agreement and tradition existed parallel to, supplementing or making it possible to use the writing. The division between them may vary, but the similar picture in ancient cultures with rather durable customary writing material, like the Mesopotamian cuneiform clay tablets, and our modern society makes it probable that the situation could be reconstructed along similar lines in all mature cultures which use writing: for example Mesopotamia, old and late Semitic cultures, ancient Greece and Rome and the medival and modern western world.

## NOTES

1. This paper was originally delivered at the conference of Near Eastern Studies at Uppsala, in January, 1989.
2. The general development of writing as presented in standard handbooks, e.g. I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 1952, 2nd ed. 1963, and later reprints, has in principle not been challenged except for the beginning of writing, where studies by D. Schmandt-Besserat, partly summarized e.g. in: *The Earliest Precursor of Writing*, *Scientific American*, June 1978, pp. 38–47, has shown the probable invention of writing as a development from the token system used for accounting before the invention of writing in the ancient Near East.
3. The following description of archives and libraries is a generalized and simplified version according to the ways of presentation I have used for cuneiform texts especially from Assur in a series of studies: Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur, A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations, Parts I and II*, 1985 and 1986 (= *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 6 and 8); Olof Pedersén, *The Libraries in the City of Assur*, in: *Keilschriftliche Literaturen, Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Münster, 8–12.7.1985, Berlin 1986 (= *Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient* 6); Olof Pedersén, *Private Archives in Assur Compared with some other Sites*, in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* I/1 (1987)

- 43–52; Olof Pedersén, Die Assur-Texte in ihren archäologischen Zusammenhängen, MDOG 121 (1989) 153–167. For a recent collection of articles related to the field of cuneiform archives see: Cuneiform Archives and Libraries, Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden 4–8 July 1983, K. Veenhof, ed., 1986 (= Publications de l’Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stambul 57).
4. The library of Assurbanipal has been discussed in every introductory work to assyriology. However, it has never been completely reconstructed and there does not exist any monograph covering this most basic but difficult subject. For some basic information with further bibliography see e.g. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, esp. pp. 15–18, S. Parpola, Assyrian Library Records, JNES 42 (1983) 1–30 and S. Parpola, The royal archives in Nineve, in: Cuneiform Archives and Libraries (see n. 2), pp. 223–236.
  5. The temple library in Sippar, recently excavated by Iraqi archaeologists, is the first cuneiform library found with the tablets still in their original places on the shelves. For a preliminary summary of the mostly unpublished material see Walid al-Jadir, Une bibliothèque et ses tablettes, in: Archéologia 224, Mai 1987, 18–27.
  6. The Mesopotamian royal inscriptions will within some years be completely republished in transliteration and translation in a series of volumes from the Canadian RIM (= Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia) project. The first volume in the Assyrian series is now published: A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (= RIMA 1), Toronto 1987.

# Zweisprachigkeit im frühen persischen *taṣawwuf*

BERND RADTKE, Bergen

Für Gösta Vitestam zum siebzigsten geburtstag

Ich möchte mit einem persönlichen erlebnis beginnen. 1966 entschloss ich mich, von der Universität Hamburg an die Universität Basel zu wechseln. Der grund war, dass ich einen lehrer suchte, der mich in die islamische mystik einführen konnte. Als ein solcher wurde mir Fritz Meier in Basel genannt. Ich wurde jedoch davor gewarnt, nach Basel zu gehen. Man meinte, ein wechsel nach Basel und zur "mystik" bedeute eine "persische" zukunft, müsse auf eine alleinige beschäftigung mit dem persischen und der persischen mystik hinauslaufen – und davon sei aus karrieregründen abzuraten.

Neben der ärgerlichen disqualifizierung des persischen sprach aus dieser warnung eine offensichtliche fehlinformation, die dem urteil über den notwendig persisch-sprachlichen charakter islamischer mystik zugrunde liegt. Gewiss ist die klassische persische dichtung vom 11.-12. jh. an tief vom taṣawwuf, von seiner sprache und seiner gedankenwelt geprägt. Aber jeder, der nur einige quellenkenntnisse besitzt, weiss, dass die grundlagen der terminologie und der gedankenwelt des taṣawwuf arabisch formuliert wurden. Das notwendigste hierzu ist in Massignons Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane und Paul Nwyias Exégèse coranique et langage mystique zu finden. Auch was wir über *taṣawwuf* und *mutaṣawwifa* aus Iran bis in das 10.-11. jh. lesen können, ist arabisch geschrieben. Alle literatur des 9. jh.s., des jahrhunderts der sufischen väter Muḥāsibī, Junayd, Hakīm Tirmidī u.a. ist arabisch; das gleiche gilt für die sufischen hand- und lehrbücher des 10.–11. jh.s. (Kalābādī, Sarrāj, Makkī, Sulamī). Kalābādī, Sarrāj und Sulamī waren zudem in Iran zuhause.

Die ersten zeugnisse zur sufik in persischer sprache stammen aus dem 11. jh.; das gilt sowohl für die poesie als auch für die prosa. Die poesie soll hier nicht weiter beachtet werden.<sup>1</sup> Als älteste zeugnisse persischer prosa zur sufik seien zwei texte des 11. jh.s. betrachtet: Die *Tabaqāt uṣ-ṣūfiyya Anṣārīs*<sup>2</sup> und *Hujwīrīs/Jullābīs Kaṣf ul-mahjūb*.<sup>3</sup> Auf die biografien der beiden autoren soll hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Anṣārīs schrift ist eine sammlung von sufibiografien, Hujwīrīs werk ist ein handbuch zum taṣawwuf. Die hauptvorlage Anṣārīs waren die arabischen *Tabaqāt uṣ-ṣūfiyya Sulamīs*.<sup>4</sup>

Sehen wir uns einmal an, wie Anṣārī einen text Sulamīs ins persische übersetzt! Wir wählen dafür die biografie des mystikers Abū Bakr al-Warrāq at-Tirmidī.<sup>5</sup> Sie befindet sich bei Anṣārī auf den seiten 261–266, bei Sulamī auf den seiten 221–226. Sulamī baut seine biografien in der regel so auf, dass er zuerst einige lebensdaten gibt (herkunft, lehrer, reisen, todesdaten). Dann folgt oft die feststellung, dass der betreffende ḥadīṭ überliefert hat, was durch ein oder mehrere beispiele demonstriert wird; anschliessend dicta des mystikers.

Anṣārī übernimmt (261,-1–262,3) Sulamīs daten und fügt einige neue Informationen hinzu. Er bringt Sulamīs aussage *lahū l-kutub al-mašhūra fī anwār ar-riyādāt wa-l-mu'āmalāt wa-l-ādāb* wörtlich mit einem zusatz: *wayrā kutub ast mašhūr dar anwār-i riyādāt wa mu'āmalāt wa adab wa zuhd* (262,3). Es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die arabischen begriffe (*riyādāt*, *mu'āmalāt*) nicht übersetzt werden.

Hier endet die übereinstimmung mit Sulamī. Anṣārī bringt dann (262,5–7) zusätzliche nachrichten über Abū Bakr al-Warrāq; er preist dessen schrift *Kitāb-i 'ālim wa muta'allim* (*Kitāb al-'ālim wa-l-muta'allim*).<sup>6</sup> Ebenfalls nicht bei Sulamī stehen Anṣāris auslassungen 262,5–265,1. Ein charakteristischer gegensatz zu Sulamī besteht darin, dass Anṣārī oft eigene kommentare zum mitgeteilten, seien es dicta oder berichte, gibt. Diese kommentare sind in der regel in persisch, bzw. im Herater dialekt.

Die übereinstimmung mit Sulamī beginnt wieder 265,1 ff. Dort steht: *way guft ki mardumān si and: 'ulamā wa umarā wa qurrā čōn 'ulamā tabāh šawad fasād-i ṭā'at uftad wa čon fasād-i umarā buwad fasād-i ma'āš buwad wa čon fasād-i qurrā buwad fasād-i aklāq buwad*. Das lautet bei Sulamī 222,5–7: *an-nās ṭalāṭa al-'ulamā wa-l-umarā wa-l-qurrā fa-idā fasada l-umarā fasada l-ma'āš wa-idā fasada l-'ulamā fasadat at-ṭā'at wa-idā fasada l-qurrā fasadat al-aklāq*. – Anṣārī fährt fort (265,–4): *wa ham way guft ki ḥudūr-i fāsiqān bih az şawlat-i muṭī'ān = Sulamī 225,7: kuḍūr al-fāsiqān afḍal min şawlat al-muṭī'īn*. Anṣāris schluss (265,4–266,2) ist wieder nicht aus Sulamī.

Um unsere bewertungsgrundlage etwas zu erweitern, betrachten wir eine zweite biografie: die des Ḥakīm Tirmidī.<sup>8</sup> Sie steht bei Anṣārī 253, bei Sulamī 217–220. Es ist auf den ersten blick deutlich, dass Sulamī sehr viel mehr text als Anṣārī bietet. Ausser den lebensdaten Tirmidīs bringt Anṣārī nur zwei dicta 253,-3 f., das erste sowohl arabisch als auch persisch: *man jahala awṣāf al-'ubūdiyya fa-huwa bi-nū'ūt ar-rubūbiyya ajhal, ya'nī: o ki kwad-rā našināsad ḍ-rā čōn šināsad*; der arabische text wörtlich bei Sulamī 219,10f. Das zweite dictum lautet bei Anṣārī: *wa ham way guft ki haqīqat-i dūstī-i allāh dawām-i uns ast ba-yād-i o = Sulamī 219,17 f.: haqīqat maḥabbat Allāh dawām al-uns bi-dikrihī*. Beim ersten dictum handelt es sich um eine parafrase und interpretation Anṣāris; ob sie dem sinn des Tirmidī-textes entspricht, sei hier nicht weiter untersucht. Für das zweite dictum sei daraufhingewiesen, dass hier so wichtige termini wie *maḥabba* (= *dūstī*) und *dikr* (= *yād*)<sup>9</sup> übersetzt werden.

Wir verlassen Anṣārī und wenden uns der zweiten quelle zu: Hujwīrīs/Jullābīs Kaṣf ul-maḥjūb. Eine kurze übersicht über die quellen des werkes gibt Nicholson im vorwort seiner übersetzung (s. XV). Als eine hauptquelle werden die berühmten *Luma'* des Sarrāj aufgeführt.<sup>10</sup> Auch Hujwīrī hat ein ausführliches kapitel mit biografien der berühmten mystiker. Wir greifen wieder diejenigen Abū Bakr al-Warrāqs und Ḥakīm Tirmidīs heraus.

In der biografie Abū Bakrs finden wir eines der aus Anṣārī bekannten dicta mit diesem wortlaut (179,14 ff.): *guft: an-nās ṭalāṭa al-'ulamā wa-l-fuqarā'*<sup>11</sup> *wa-l-umarā fa-idā fasada l-'ulamā fasada ṭ-ṭā'a wa-idā fasada l-fuqarā' fasada l-aklāq wa-idā fasada l-umarā fasada l-ma'āš*. Das gibt Hujwīrī persisch so wieder: *mardumān si gurūhand yakē 'ālimān wa dīgar faqīrān wa sidīgar amīrān čōn umarā tabāh šawand ma'āš-i kalāyiq wa iktisāb-i ēšān tabāh šawad wa čōn 'ulamā' tabāh šawand*

*ṭā'at wa barziš-i šarī'at bar kalq tabāh wa šōrīda gardad wa čōn fuqarā tabāh šawand koyhā bar kalq tabāh šawand.* Es handelt sich also um eine mischung von wörtlicher übersetzung und parafrase. Hujwīrī lässt (180,2–8) dann einen eigenen kommentar zu diesem ausspruch folgen.

In der biografie Ḥakīm Tirmidīs finden wir (178,11 ff.): *az way mī-āyad ki guft man jahala awṣāf al-‘ubūdiyya<sup>12</sup> fa-huwa bi-nū’ūt ar-rabbāniyya* (variante: *ar-rubūbiyya*) *ajhal – har ki ba-‘ilm-i šari'at wa awṣāf-i bandagī ġāhil bāšad ō ba-awṣāf-i kudāwand-i ta‘alā jāhiltar bāšad.* Hujwīrī fährt fort: *wa har ki ba-mārifat-i nafs kī maklūq-ast rāh nabarad ba-mārifat-i haqq-i ta‘alā kī kāliq-ast ham rāh nabarad wa har ki ăfāt-i şifat-i başariyyat nabīnad laṭāyif-i şifat-i rubūbiyyat kay dānad.* – Auch das ist keine exakte übersetzung, sondern eher eine parafrase. Festzuhalten ist, dass für arabisch ‘ubūdiyya persisch *bandagi*<sup>13</sup> zu verfüGung steht, während ein entsprechendes äquivalent für *rubūbiyya* fehlt.

Im 10. kapitel gibt Hujwīrī eine liste arabischer sufischer termini, die er erklärt. Parallelen finden sich bei Sarrāj (*Luma'* 333–374/übersetzung Gramlich 471–512) und in der *Risāla Quṣayrīs* (*Bāb tafsīr alfāz*/übersetzung Gramlich 106–145). Ein grober vergleich zeigt zunächst, dass Hujwīrīs text keine übersetzung oder bearbeitung – weder von Sarrāj noch Quṣayrī – ist.

Einige beispiele:

*ḥāl* (“zustand”); bei Sarrāj (*Luma'* 334,–1–335,2/übersetzung Gramlich 472); *wa-l-ḥāl nāzilatun tanzil bi-l-‘abd fi l-ḥīn fa-yahill bi-l-qalb min wujūd ar-riḍā wa-t-tafwīd wa-ġayr dālika fa-yasfū lahū fi l-waqt fi ḥālihī wa-waqtihī wa-yazūl.*

Bei Quṣayrī (*Bāb tafsīr alfāz*/übersetzung Gramlich 109 f.); *wa-l-ḥāl ‘inda l-qawm mānan yarid ‘alā l-qalb min ḡayr ta‘ammud minhum wa-lā jtilāb wa-lā ktisāb lahum min ṭarab aw ḥuzn aw qabḍ aw šawq aw inz̄āj aw hayba aw iħtiyāj.*<sup>14</sup>

Bei Hujwīrī lesen wir hingegen (482,12 ff.); *wa ḥāl wāridē buwad bar waqt kī warrā muzayyin kunad čunānki rūh jasad-rā wa lā mahāla waqt ba-ḥāl muħtāj bāšad ki şafāy-i waqt ba-ḥāl bāšad.*

Nehmen wir als zweiten begriff *maqām* (“standplatz”). Dazu sagt Sarrāj (*Luma'* 335,4 f./übersetzung Gramlich 472 f.):

*wa-l-maqām huwa lladī yaqūm bi-l-‘abd fi l-awqāt mitl maqām aş-ṣābirīn wa-l-mutawakkilīn wa-huwa maqām al-‘abd bi-żāhirihī wa-bāqinīhī ...*

Bei Quṣayrī (*Risāla*, *Bāb tafsīr alfāz*/übersetzung Gramlich 109):

*wa-l-maqām mā yatahaqqaq bihī l-‘abd bi-munāzalatihī min al-ādāb mimmā yatawaṣṣal ilayhi bi-naw‘ taṣarruf wa-yatahaqqaq bihī bi-darb taṭallub wa-muqāsāt takalluf...*

Und bei Hujwīrī (*Kaſf* 484,6): *maqām ‘ibāratēst az iqāmat-i tālib bar adā-i ḥuqūq-i maṭlūb ba-śiddat-i ijtiḥād wa-ṣihħat-i niyyat-i way.*

Versuchen wir zunächst eine wertung der letzten zitate. Es ist ohne weiteres klar, dass unsere drei quellen von einander unabhängig sind; das gilt sowohl für die beiden arabischen untereinander als auch für die persische, obwohl diese wie eine übersetzung aus dem arabischen wirkt: Nur das grammatische “knochengerüst” ist persisch (... *kunad*, ... *buwad*, ... *bāšad*), die terminologie vollständig arabisch. Das gibt uns die möglichkeit einer allgemeinen charakterisierung aller unserer texte, auch der zu beginn besprochenen: Wir haben es mit einer fast ausschliesslich

arabischen terminologie zu tun, die nicht eigentlich “über”-setzt, sondern nur in das grammatisch-syntaktische system des persischen “ein”-gepasst wird. Das lässt u.a. auch den schluss zu, dass die arabische terminologie im 5./11. jh. von persischen lesern verstanden wurde. Die übersetzungen selbst sind uneinheitlich. Neben fast wörtlichen übertragungen stehen parafrasen oder eigene interpretationen. Sie scheinen adhoc von den jeweiligen autoren aufgrund der ihnen vorliegenden arabischen quellen angefertigt worden zu sein. “Übersetzerschulen”, die die tradition einer schulterminologie begründet hätten – wie etwa im falle griechisch → syrisch → arabisch in der schule des Hunayn b. Ishāq – scheinen nicht existiert zu haben.

Eines ist somit sicher: Um die sprache des persischen tašawwuf zu verstehen, ist eine gründliche kenntnis der arabischen quellen notwendig.

Betrachten wir die lage in Iran zwei jahrhunderte vor Anṣārī und Hujwīrī am beispiel des schon erwähnten Ḥakīm Tirmidī – wahrscheinlich ein abkömmling der arabischen eroberer Ostirans. Er war ein äusserst fruchtbare schriftsteller arabischer sprache. Die ihm in den bibliografien zugeschriebenen persischen werke sind ihm samt und sondes untergeschoben.<sup>15</sup> In seinen schriften finden sich jedoch einige übersetzungen arabischer termini und ganzer sätze, wenn auch nur sehr weniger, ins persische;<sup>16</sup> seine arabisch geschriebene autobiografie enthält persische sätze<sup>17</sup> der alltagssprache, u.a. unterhaltungen Tirmidīs mit seiner frau. Das lässt den schluss zu, dass er im alltagsleben persisch gesprochen hat. Die sprache der wissenschaft war für ihn jedoch arabisch – zumindest in seinen schriften. Ob er auch durchgehend im mündlichen lehrvortrag, der oft vorbild für seine schriftlichen arbeiten gewesen zu sein scheint, arabisch gesprochen hat, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Zumindest übersetzt er bisweilen zur verdeutlichung arabische begriffe für seine zuhörer und schüler, bis auf eine ausnahme jedoch nie ganze sätze. Seine zuhörer und lesrer scheinen daher im allgemeinen des arabischen mächtig gewesen zu sein.

Oder hat Tirmidī nur arabisch geschrieben, im lehrvortrag jedoch persisch gesprochen, wovon die persischen übersetzungen in seinen schriften eine reminiszenz sind? Fragen, die vorerst nich geklärt werden können, deren beantwortung jedoch aufschluss über die sozio-kulturellen verhältnisse Ostirans des 9. jh.s geben könnte.

Sehen wir uns zum schluss einige übersetzungen Tirmidīs an.<sup>18</sup>

*birr* = *nāla*

*bi-lā-kayfiyya* = *abēčigōnagī*

*tabāt* = *dāšt*<sup>19</sup>

*hifz* = *nigāh dāšt*

*idrāk* = *andar yāb*<sup>20</sup>

*dikr* = *yād dāšt*<sup>21</sup>

*‘ubūdiyya* = *bandakiyya (=bandagī)*<sup>22</sup>

*ma’rifa* = *rāst išnāhtan*

*‘amal* = *kārdār*

*fīl* = *kār*  
*fikra* = *isgāliš*  
*nafs* = *kām*<sup>23</sup>  
*tawahhum* = *andēša*.

Die liste könnte fortgeführt werden. – 150 bis 200 Jahre nach Tirmidī war es offensichtlich nicht mehr notwendig, arabische termini zu übersetzen; die arabische terminologie wurde durch sich selbst verstanden.

Diese aforistischen ausführungen können und sollen nur ein versuch sein. Gründliche forschung wäre notwendig und lohnend.

## NOTES

1. Vgl. Meier, Abu Sa'īd-i Abū l-Hayr 210 ff.
2. Gest. 1089; vgl. Lazard, Langue 109 ff.; jetzt Utas, Munājāt 84.
3. Gest. 1064 oder 1073; Lazard, Langue 88 ff.
4. Gest. 1021; GAS 1,672.
5. Gest. 906–7; vgl. Radtke, TM 546; jetzt Meier, Bahā 73, anm. 10.
6. Das buch soll 1939 und 1949 von M. Z. al-Kawṭarī in Kairo herausgegeben worden sein (GAS 1,646, nr. 19). Massignon (Essai 319) und Yahyā (L'œuvre 419) schreiben es irrtümlich Ḥakīm Tirmidī zu.
7. Variante im apparat *al-fuqarā'*.
8. Gest. zwischen 900 und 910; vgl. HT 1–58.
9. Hier 4.
10. GAS 1,666, nr. 45.
11. Vgl. die in anm. 6 angeführte variante; der lesung *al-fuqarā'* ist der vorzug zu geben.
12. Zu 'ubūdiyya/ubūda bei Tirmidī vgl. Drei Schriften, Einleitung.
13. Hier 4.
14. Für varianten vgl. den apparat der Gramlischsen übersetzung.
15. HT 58.
16. Vgl. die liste HT 137f.
17. Vgl. HT 138 und ibid. 142, anm. 35. Die edition weist zahlreiche falschlesungen, besonders der persischen partien, aber nicht nur dieser, auf (vgl. etwa HT 139–143). Meine englische übersetzung mit verbesserungen zur edition wird in der zeitschrift al-Qanṭara erscheinen.
18. Vgl. die liste HT 137.
19. Zur übersetzung vgl. HT 169, anm. 485; jetzt jedoch Meier, Bahā 195 f., anm. 8.
20. In späteren filosofischen übersetzungen kann *andar yāftanī* für arabisch *maḥsūs* stehen; vgl. Gaetje, Psychologie 121,3: ...anna kulla šay'in immā ma'lūmun wa-immā maḥsūsun/persische übersetzung (zu dieser übersetzung vgl. Radtke, Theosophie 166) bei Afḍaluddīn-i Kāshānī, Muṣannafāt 2,461,6: cīzā hama az dō bīrūn nīst yā andar yāftanī ast yā dānistanī.
21. Hier 2.
22. Hier 3.
23. Eine eigenartige übersetzung; man würde eher als arabisches äquivalent *šahwa* oder *hawā* erwartet.

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# The Earliest Arabs

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## 1. DOCUMENTATION

In the Old Testament we find several instances where ‘Arabs’ seem to be mentioned. The designations used are for single individuals a *nisbah*-adjective, whereas for the plural a collective noun alternates with the plural of the adjective. The forms are the following:

Sing.

1. <sup>c</sup>*rābī*: Is. 13:20; Jer. 3:2.
2. <sup>c</sup>*arbī*: Neh. 2:19; 6:1.

Plur./coll.

3. <sup>c</sup>*arab*/<sup>c</sup>*rāb* (P): Jer. 25:24; Ez. 27:21; 2 Chron. 9:14; Is. 21:13.
4. <sup>c</sup>*arbiyyīm*/<sup>c</sup>*arbī̄m*/<sup>c</sup>*arbīm*: 2 Chron. 17:11; 21:16; 22:1; 26:7; Neh. 4:1.

It is possible to derive all these forms from an original bisyllabic base <sup>c</sup>*arab*. That (2) and (4) are derived from such a bisyllabic form may be concluded from the fricativized *b*. It should, however, be noted that (2), (3) and (4) are not the expected Biblical Hebrew forms of <sup>c</sup>*arab*/<sup>c</sup>*arabī*, and that only (1) is the regular formation. The others are in fact the forms of the *qatal*-pattern expected in Aramaic. Of these, (3) can, however, represent a *qatl* pattern as well, since these have coincided in Aramaic.<sup>1</sup>

The OT documentation is, however, not the earliest. We find a similar word in several passages in the inscriptions and letters of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia from Shalmaneser III (858-24) even down to the Achaemenids:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>kur</sup>*arb-a-a*: Shalmaneser III (Monolith Col. II:94),<sup>3</sup> Tiglath-Pileser III (Harper 631),<sup>4</sup> Sargon II (Annals 95,<sup>5</sup> Harper 88, 547).

<sup>lu</sup> *arba-a-a*: Tiglath-Pileser III (ND 2644,<sup>6</sup> Harper 414), Sennacherib (Rechtsurkunden 124:3),<sup>7</sup> Esarhaddon (Harper 512, 773, 1422), Assurbanipal (Harper 273, 543, 1108, 1244; Rechtsurkunden 552:1, 6, 9).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>kur</sup>*ara/i/ub-*: Tiglath-Pileser III (Rabbenou-stele 1. 2, 19,<sup>9</sup> Annals 154, 213, 240,<sup>10</sup> Summary Inscription 19),<sup>11</sup> Sargon II (Annals 97, 162,<sup>12</sup> Display-inscription 27),<sup>13</sup> Sennacherib (Records A1 28,<sup>14</sup> H5 22),<sup>15</sup> Esarhaddon (Heidel-prism II:45),<sup>16</sup> Assurbanipal (all annalistic texts, *passim*),<sup>17</sup> Nebuchadnezzar (Chronicle 5:10),<sup>18</sup> Nabunaid (Harran 2:43),<sup>19</sup> Darius I (Bisutun 6).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>lu</sup> *arab-*: Sargon (Nimrud-prism D IV 25–36),<sup>21</sup> Esarhaddon (Nineveh AIV:1–31),<sup>22</sup> Nebuchadnezzar, Nabunaid.<sup>23</sup>

In the Akkadian texts we thus find both a monosyllabic and a bisyllabic form. The vowel in the second syllable of the latter is usually variable depending on the suffixed case-vowel, thus *arubu*, *aribi*, *araba*. These Akkadian forms, like the Hebrew ones, can be derived from a common origin, viz. a bisyllabic base <sup>c</sup>*arab*.

In that case the monosyllabic *arb-* may represent the same Aramaic form as we find in BH, since the *begdkefat*-shift is not reflected in the cuneiform writing. The fact that nisbah-adjectives in the Akkadian passages are formed by the -āy suffix and not by the normal Akkadian -i, thus *arbāy*, also speaks for the Aramaic origin.<sup>24</sup> As is well known the normal nisbah-suffix in Aramaic is -āy.<sup>25</sup>

The bisyllabic form in Akkadian can be a reflex of an Aramaic form similar to the one we find in Hebrew. But it can also represent a genuine two-syllable word, thus 'arab'.

The bisyllabic designation is also the one found in the Achaemenid inscriptions from the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes I and Artaxerxes II or III.<sup>26</sup> The Old Persian *a-ra-ba-ya* is to be read *arabāya* (not *arbāya*) judging from the rendering in the parallel Akkadian and Elamite texts.<sup>27</sup> This is confirmed by the form *arábioi* found in Herodotus, who undoubtedly reproduces the Persian term (probably via Hecataeus).<sup>28</sup>

In Akkadian documents from the period 850–500 B. C. as well as Biblical texts from ca. 600–400 B. C. we thus have two forms of the word 'Arab': one monosyllabic that could represent an Aramaic pronunciation, and one bisyllabic, preserving, as it seems, the original bisyllabic structure.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. MEANING

The term 'Arab' in these sources has been interpreted along two different lines. According to one, it is a socio-economic term: 'tent-dweller', 'pastoralist', 'camel-breeder', 'nomad', 'bedouin'.<sup>30</sup> According to another, it is a geographical name: 'dweller in the *'Arābā'*', i.e. the steppe or the desert.<sup>31</sup>

The discussion of this problem is usually characterized by a lack of distinction between etymological and denotational/connotational meanings. First of all, it should be kept in mind that etymological and denotational/connotational meanings do not necessarily coincide. To take a related example, the etymology of the word 'Jew' is not much help in establishing the denotational meaning of the word: Jews are not (any longer) identical with the inhabitants of Judaea or members of a tribe with that name. Jews can be defined as members of a religious community and/or a nationality where membership is constituted by birth or conversion. This means that knowledge of the etymology of the word 'Jew' does not necessarily lead us to its actual meaning. In the same way knowledge of the etymology of 'Arab' may give some information about the past of the people designated as such, but definition of the historical content of the term must be based upon analysis of the actual use and occurrence in historical sources, not on etymology.

The claim that 'Arabs' means 'nomad' etc. is based upon an association between Arabs and nomadism etc., i.e. a connotation of the term, which may be not wholly out of the air. But it does not follow from this that 'Arab' actually is a term for 'nomads' etc. The Lapps in Scandinavia have traditionally lived by reindeer pastoralism and many of them still do, but this does not mean that the signification of the word 'Lapp' is 'reindeer pastoralist'. The Lappish people must instead be defined mainly in terms of language and descent, not in terms of culture.

An even more serious objection is that tent-dwellers, camel-breeders, pastoral-

ists, nomads and bedouins are in no way synonymous. The use of the term bedouin for the pre-Christian millennium is an anachronism since bedouin culture emerges during the centuries immediately before Islam. As far as the other sociological terms are concerned, the 'Arabs' often appear as camelbreeders in the sources. This does not necessarily imply that they are nomads or live in tents. In fact, we do not know for sure if they did. Further, we do not know for sure if the 'Arabs' were the only camelbreeders in the Syrian desert in this period or if all 'Arabs' were camelbreeders. At least from later periods we know that they can be farmers.<sup>32</sup>

The etymological derivation of 'Arab' from a word meaning 'desert' is evidently based on the presumption that 'Arab' is synonymous with 'desert-dweller' or 'tent-dweller'. Now it is very unlikely that 'Arab', as it is actually used in our texts, should mean 'tent-dweller' or 'desert-dweller' even if they often happen to be living in the desert, since all the ancient languages have other special terms for this.<sup>33</sup> A remaining possibility is that the root *'rb* originally had such a meaning. It must, however, be underlined that there is no evidence whatsoever for such an etymology, or the use of the word with such a meaning.

The derivation of 'Arab' from *'Arābā* is linguistically possible at first sight. It becomes, however, unlikely when one considers that fact that *'Arābā*, which is only used in the Old Testament in this period, is a term for certain specific areas around the Dead Sea.<sup>34</sup> If Hebrew *'arbī* etc. is identical with the similar word in Akkadian, which is the connection between the *arbāy/arab* in Akkadian texts and the areas around the Dead Sea? Since this etymology in fact claims that a geographical term is the base for a gentilic derivation, it presupposes that the peoples in question, at least from the beginning, had special links with that area. Considering what we know about the use of the term *'Arābā* in the Old Testament it is plainly evident that there is no proof for any connection of this kind.<sup>35</sup> Even if it should be possible to show that 'Arabs' originate from the areas called *'Arābā* (which is *not* possible!), this does not necessarily tell us anything of the meaning of the term in the texts from 850–400 B. C.

In scholarly literature the concept 'Arabs' thus turns out to be rather hazy. In spite of this, it tends to be used as if its meaning and definition were completely evident and unproblematic although the definitions presented are of very different kinds. This modern haziness of national terms is, however, dangerous when dealing with ancient history: all evidence gives testimony to the fact that in ancient times nationality was not a general concept defined loosely as cultural heritage, feeling of cultural affinities etc. It was clearly defined in terms of jurisdiction and religious cult. To a large extent it is still so in the Middle East.

There is no indication in the sources that 'Arabs' during this period was a general vague term for desert-dwellers, tent-dwellers or nomads. During the 1st millennium B. C. the Syrian and North Arabian deserts were populated by several groups with different names, among which we find the *arab/arbāy*. It deserves to be underlined that when tribes and peoples are never called Arabs in the sources we have no reason to believe that they were considered 'Arabs' by themselves or others.<sup>36</sup> If we choose to call them Arabs we must be aware that we apply a modern concept of nationality on ancient peoples – a concept on which they would probably not agree. E. g. Saba (Sheba) appears for the first time in the Annals of Tiglath-

Pileser III from the year 734 B. C. together with other tribes.<sup>37</sup> Most scholars see this as a documentation of ‘Arabs’ in the 8th century B. C.<sup>38</sup> But this people is never called or considered Arabs in any of the Akkadian or Biblical sources. On the contrary, from an unprejudiced reading of these texts nobody would get the idea that they were ‘Arabs’. In much later Greek sources they are designated by this term, but this is another problem altogether. For an historian it is important to see what the sources say; it is also of equal importance to see what they do not say.

It is thus necessary to look for the meaning of ‘Arabs’ elsewhere. Now we have another derivation of the same root in Hebrew, viz. *‘æræb/eræb*, the meaning of which is ‘mixture’. In the OT it is used in several passages with the meaning ‘mixed people’.<sup>39</sup> There are, however, a few passages where it is used as a parallel or, as it seems, as a synonym for *‘arab*, viz., Jer. 25:24 ‘and all the kings of *‘arab*, and all the kings of *‘æræb* that dwell in the desert’. Further, we find that 2 Chronicles 9:14 has *malkē ‘arab* (viz. the kings who bring tribute of gold to Solomon), whereas the parallel passage in 1 Kings 10:15 has *malkē hā‘æræb*. In this latter passage the Peshitta has *malkē ‘arbāyē* and the Vulgate has *reges Arabiae*.<sup>40</sup> The Greek Bible shows traces of replacing *‘æræb* with *‘arab*. Thus Symmachos has *Arabia* in Ez. 30:5 as well as in Jer. 25:24, in the latter followed by Theodotion. Aquila has *Arabia* in Jer. 25:20.<sup>41</sup> The Peshitta too has *‘arbāyē* in Ez. 30:5 and Jer. 25:24.

The root *‘rb* in Arabic, apart from its usual meaning ‘Arab’, also means ‘be pure’.<sup>42</sup> It is thus likely that we have a so-called *didd-word*, i.e., a root with two opposite meanings.<sup>43</sup> This shows that the Biblical writers may have had a point in their identification of the two terms. In fact, the passage in Jer. 25:24 indeed looks as an early gloss: “the kings of *‘æræb*”, = the Arabs’. During a certain period (at least after 600 B. C.) the Israelites evidently considered the two terms as having identical meanings.

The identification of *‘æræb* with *‘arab*, which we find as early as in some passages in the Bible, and which tends to be expanded in the versions, may also be supported by other arguments. The onomasticon of the ‘Arabs’ that can be gleaned from the Akkadian sources very clearly shows that they were of mixed origin. We find Syrian and Akkadian names as well as names from both the north and the south of the peninsula among them.<sup>44</sup> To this comes the remarkable fact that the Biblical genealogies do not mention an eponymous father for the ‘Arabs’, although these groups must have been well known to the writers. As a matter of fact, ‘Arabs’ are never mentioned in the Pentateuch or in any Biblical genealogy.<sup>45</sup> This indicates that the term is not on the same level as the other designations for peoples that we find in the genealogies of the Priestly Code and the Jahwist. The *‘arab* were, at least by the Israelites, considered *‘æræb*, ‘mixture’, and did not belong to any of the established peoples in the system of the Biblical genealogists.

### 3. HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Even if the etymological meaning seems to have some relevance for the period in question, it cannot yet be stated that ‘Arab’ meant ‘mixed people’ during the centuries covered by the sources. The attempt to identify the ‘Arabs’ in the oldest sources must instead take its starting point in the distribution of terms in the

Akkadian texts. The form *arbāy* occurs mainly in letters, often as an apposition to a personal name or as an independent attribute without a name, i.e. ‘the Arab’. It is also clearly connected with Syria. The first ‘Arab’ in history, Gindibu *arbāya*, appears together with the Syrian kings at Qarqar in 853 B. C. Tiglath-Pileser III establishes *Arbāy* as mercenaries in the Homs-area.<sup>46</sup> Sargon II settles *Arbāy* in Samaria in 715 B. C. *Arbāy* are further found as functionaries in Esarhaddon’s palace as well as military commanders under Assurbanipal.<sup>47</sup>

The bisyllabic *arab-* on the other hand always occurs together with the mentioning of rulers, mostly female ones. We know the names of six queens of the *Aribi* from Tiglath-Pileser III to Assurbanipal. The two ‘kings of *Aribi*’ are in other passages called kings of Qedar, whereas the queens of the *Aribi* are never called anything else. Further, the geographical location of most of them is Adummatu which is identifiable with Duma in the southern Syrian desert.<sup>48</sup> There are good reasons to presume that all the queens mentioned were located in this oasis. We also know that the gods of the *Aribi* in Duma played a crucial role in their warfare with Assyria, and that at least some of the queens had a special title, *apkallu*, designating some kind of priestly function.<sup>49</sup> Was Duma originally a place of refuge, offering protection for people who for different reasons had left ordinary life?<sup>50</sup>

An unprejudiced reading of the texts suggests that the *arbāy/arab* complex is one of several tribal groups in the Syrian desert and adjacent areas during this period.<sup>51</sup> Since the two terms are derivations of an identical word it can be supposed that they were closely related, perhaps identical and distinct from other nationalities. There is, however, one tribe which has a closer relationship to the *Aribi*, viz. Qedar. Already in their first appearance in 738 B. C. both *Qidri* and *Aribi* are found together in a list of tributaries to Tiglath Pileser III.<sup>52</sup> During the first half of the 7th century B. C. two kings of Qedar, Hazael and Yaute, took part in the wars against Assyria.<sup>53</sup> In Sennacherib’s time Hazael appears together with the queen of the *Aribi*.<sup>54</sup> In the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, Hazael is even called king of the *Aribi*.<sup>55</sup> In the same manner his successor and son Yaute is mentioned in a group of inscriptions by Assurbanipal equipped with the same title.<sup>56</sup> In other texts from Assurbanipal they are called kings of Qedar.<sup>57</sup> This suggests some kind of alliance between the *Aribi* and Qedar that is documented from at least Sennacherib’s reign.

In the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. Qedar became a major power in north-western Arabia, due to their control of the emerging frankincense trade from South Arabia.<sup>58</sup> We have clear signs of their expansion from the Syrian desert (Wādī Sirhān?) towards the south-west where they established control of Dedan and probably the Negev as well as the eastern Nile delta.<sup>59</sup> We also know that Nebuchadnezzar undertook a campaign against them in 599 B. C. In the record of this expedition preserved in the Old Testament, they are still called Qedar, but in the king’s own official version they are called <sup>kur</sup> *Arabu*.<sup>60</sup> We find a similar dichotomy in that Geshem in Nehemiah is called ‘the “*arbi*”, whereas he is called *mlk qdr* on the Tell al-Maskhuta bowl.<sup>61</sup> At this time, ‘Arab’ seems to be their official designation whereas Qedar is their own.<sup>62</sup>

The conclusion is that there were at least two different groups of ‘Arabs’ during this period as reflected in the Akkadian sources. The monosyllabic *arbāy* appears mainly in Syria as mercenaries but also as individuals in Assyrian service. The

'bisyllabic' *arab* with their centre in Duma and with an independent cultic and political organisation show signs of expanding westwards through the alliance with Qedar. In the Achaemenid period they are the Arabs *par préférence*, and the bisyllabic form enters the Greek world via the Achaemenid terminology and Herodotus. The monosyllabic form, on the other hand, is from the beginning used for groups in Syria who have a relationship to the empires different from that of the 'bisyllabic' ones. Their status as mercenaries under Tiglath-Pileser III raises the question whether this type of service was not a Syrian institution taken over by the Assyrians. That would explain why the Assyrians used the Aramaic term *arbāy*. The monosyllabic pronunciation was, of course, preserved in Aramaic, but the bisyllabic form became the internationally recognized term from the middle of the 6th century B. C.

In the light of this it is remarkable that the Old Testament clings to the monosyllabic *arbī*-form. In fact, the only two unambiguous instances of the bisyllabic form in the Old Testament are found in a context that appears to be a fixed phrase.<sup>63</sup> We may further note that the nisbah-adjective *arbī* is the prevalent form in Chronicles and Nehemiah, i.e., the so-called Chronist (C). The Arab-passages here have usually been seen as reflecting conditions in the 4th century B. C. even when they appear to deal with conditions under the Israelite kings.<sup>64</sup> It might however be asked if the consistent use of the monosyllabic form for Arabs at the borders of Israel during the monarchy indeed reflects an old source used by C which had the Aramaic form of the word which was thus borrowed into Hebrew. Its use in C is strikingly parallel to the appearance of *arbāy* in the Assyrian texts. If this be so it would shed new light on the Arab-passages in Chronicles and increase their value as a source for the early history of the people called 'Arabs'.<sup>65</sup>

## NOTES

1. Segert, Grammatik 200–201.
2. For a complete survey of the instances and references in Akkadian texts, see Parpola, Toponyms 34–35 supplemented by Eph'al, Arabs 188–191. For the different spellings see Eph'al, op. cit. 6.
3. Rasmussen, Salmanassar 28.
4. For the Harper letters see Waterman, Correspondence.
5. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte 20.
6. Saggs, Letters 142.
7. Kohler & Ugnad, Rechtsurkunden 100.
8. Kohler & Ugnad, Rechtsurkunden 338.
9. Weippert, Menahem 29.
10. Rost, Keilschrifttexte 26, 36.
11. As reconstructed by Eph'al, Arabs 33–35.
12. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte 20, 28.
13. Op. cit. 100
14. Luckenbill, Annals 51.
15. Op. cit. 92.
16. Heidel, Prism 18.
17. Piepkorn, Prism 82 (VIII:4, 8); Bauer, Inschriftenwerk 35 (K 2664:IV 6); Streck, Assurbanipal II 376–78, 196–206 (The Asshur letter), op. cit. 216–18, 222–24 (The Ishtar letter), op. cit. 64–84 (The Rassam cylinder).
18. Grayson, Chronicles 101.

19. Gadd, Harran 58.
20. Weissbach, Keilinschriften 10–11.
21. Gadd, Prism 179.
22. Borger, Inschriften 53–54.
23. Cf. Eph'al, Arabs 188–91 for the references.
24. Usually written *ar-ba-a*. For the non-Akkadian origin of -ay see von Soden, Grundriss 69–70.
25. Segert, Grammatik 156.
26. Darius I: Bisutun I:14–15 (Kent 117); Persepolis E 11 (Kent 136) Naqsh-e-Rustam A 26–27 (Kent 137); Susa E 26 (Kent 141); Susa M 7 (Kent 145); Susa ab 5b:18–20 (Yoyotte, Inscriptions 258); Xerxes I: Persepolis H 25 (Kent 151); Artaxerxes II or III Persepolis 18 (Kent 156).
27. Cf. Weissbach, Keilschrifttexte 10–11 (Darius Bisutun 6); Kent, Grammar 16.
28. Herodotus I 131, 198, II 8, 11–12, 15, 19, 73, 75, 141, III 7–9, 91, 97, 107–113, VII 69–70, 86–87.
29. A complication is the initial laryngal 'ayn which should appear as *h* in Akkadian (cf. *hu-um-ri* < \*'omrī, *a-ra-mu* < \*'aram). The rendering of the West-Semitic laryngals is, however, inconsistent in the Akkadian writing.
30. E. g. Weiss-Rosmarin, Aribi 1, Grohmann, Kulturgeschichte 3, Zadok, Arabians 44, Eph'al, Ishmael 227 ff., id. Arabs 7.
31. Montgomery, Arabia, Köhler & Baumgartner, Lexicon 733, H.-P. Müller, Arabien, 571.
32. See Retsö, Xenophon 130 n. 19 for references.
33. Akkadian: *āšib kuštarī*, Hebrew: *šoknē ḥōṭel*, Greek: *skēnitai* etc. For a criticism of this definition of 'Arabs' see Retsö, Xenophon 129–30.
34. Avi-Yonah, Arabah. The etymology of the word is far from clear. The common meaning 'arid steppe' seems indeed to be the product of a circular argument.
35. H.-P. Müller's analysis of the word (Arabien 571) is most unconvincing. He seems to see a difference between *ārabī* derived from *ārābā* 'Steppe', 'Wüste', whereas *ārbī* from *ārab* 'entspricht unserem Begriff "Araber"'. The latter claim is, of course, completely out of the question. In some curious way, *ārab* is also said to mean 'Wüste'. From these the derivations are said to 'appellativisch' mean 'Beduine', 'Wüstenbewohner'. For a rejection of this etymology see also Eph'al, Ishmael 228.
36. Winnett, Genealogies uses a concept of Arabs which has no support in any source. He is followed by many, e.g. Eph'al whose Arabs are as hazy as those of Winnett, cf. the typical stand in Arabs 115 n. 389.
37. Rost, Keilschrifttexte 37 (= Annals 219).
38. Eph'al, Arabs 87–90.
39. Ex. 12:38; Leviticus 13:48 *passim*.
40. LXX reads *toū pérān* 'the kings from the other side', thus reflecting a Hebrew *'ebær*.
41. The Greek Bible shows traces of ample use of *Arabía* in passages where the Masoretic text either has *'arəb* or something else, a usage which has then been reduced in the Origenic and Lucianic revisions. Remarkable survivals are Zeph. 3:3, Hab. 1:8, Gen. 45:10, 46:34, Is. 10:9, 11:11.
42. Lane, Lexicon s.v.
43. Cf. still Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 67–108; Cohen, Etudes 79–100. The root *'rb* is usually not included in this group. H.-P. Müller rejects this meaning without any argument (Arabien, loc. cit.). It should be noted that the root exists not only in 'aramäisch-syrisch' but also in Hebrew. It is also likely that Akkadian *erēbūm* 'enter' is from this root, as is Ugaritic *'rb* 'enter', 'enter as a pledge' (Gordon, Textbook 461). Cf. Ancient South Arabian *'rb* 'guarantee with a pledge' (Beeston, Dictionary s.v. II).
44. Cf. the list of names in Weiss-Rosmarin, Aribi 28–37. Not all of them belong to *arabi*-people but the mixed character is apparent.
45. Winnett's concept of Arabs in Genealogies is completely untenable. For a clearer idea see Noth's remarks in Caskel, Bedeutung 26–27.
46. Eph'al, Arabs 93–100.
47. Harper 512, 773, 1422; 273, 543, 1108, 1244.
48. Eph'al, Arabs 119–121; Knauf, Ismael 69–71.
49. Cf. further Knauf, Ismael 81–88.

50. The *Aribi* are called *a'lu ša Atarsamain* ‘the people of the god Atarsamain’ in the Assur letter III:1 (Streck 198).
51. From the passage in Sargon Annals 94–95 (Winckler 20) it is not selfevident that the <sup>kur</sup> *Ar-ba-ai ru-u-qu-ti a-ši-bu-ut mad-ba-ri* etc. is a summary of those tribes (Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsimani, Haiapa) mentioned before. If one has not preconceived the idea that everybody in the Syrian desert automatically are to be called ‘Arabs’, the plain reading of the passage suggests a list of five separate tribes.
52. The Rabbenou-stele. Qidri is not apposition to Aribi, see Weippert’s commentary ad. loc.
53. See the analysis of the sources by Eph’al, Arabs 46–52, 142–69.
54. Luckenbill 92 (C:II 23).
55. Borger 53 (Nineveh A, IV:6 *passim*), Heidel-prism II:51.
56. The Rassam-cylinder, the Asshur letter.
57. Cylinder B (= Piepkorn 81–87), The Deller-Parpola treaty.
58. For the role of frakincense and the ‘Arabs’ in Achaemenid time see Herodotus III 97.
59. For the history of Qedar see Eph’al, Arabs 223–227; Knauf, Ismael 96–108.
60. Jer. 49:28–33; Grayson, Chronicle 5:10. For this expedition see Dumbrell, Jeremiah.
61. Dumbrell, Tell-el-Maskhuta 36.
62. Eph’al’s claim that the ‘Arabs’ used this term for themselves (Arabs 7) is most unlikely in the light of this. It may also be added that the word used as a self-designation is not found in any inscription on the Peninsula until 328 A. D.
63. Is. 13:20: ‘Neither shall the *“arābī* pitch tent there (i.e. in Babylon), neither shall the shepherds make their fold there’. Jer. 3:2: ‘In the ways thou (= Israel) hast sat for them as the *“arābī* in the wilderness’.
64. Cf. e. g. Alt, Nachbarn 343–345.
65. Israeli scholars seem to value Chronicles higher as a historical source for earlier periods than others, cf. Eph’al, Arabs 60–72. At least as far as the Arab-passages are concerned, there are also other valid arguments for this than those presented here. This will be returned to by the author in a forthcoming study.

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# Deux détails de la préface du *Kitāb adab al-kātib* d'Ibn Qutayba

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La préface du *Kitāb adab al-kātib* d'Ibn Qutayba a suscité l'intérêt des chercheurs. On la cite souvent et Gérard Lecomte lui a consacré une analyse approfondie dans l'article “L'Introduction du *Kitāb adab al-kātib* d'Ibn Qutayba”. L'intérêt s'est concentré sur ce que la préface dévoile de l'atmosphère qui régnait dans les cercles culturels dans lesquels se mouvait Ibn Qutayba et des opinions générales de ce dernier ainsi que de ses accusations “contre les faiblesses et les insuffisances du personnel administratif contemporain” (Lecomte, op.cit., p. 48), les *kuttāb*. Plus particulièrement, on a souligné la position ferme que prenait Ibn Qutayba contre les *mutakallimūn* et les *falsāfa* maintenant avec force son adhérence à *ahl al-hadīt*. Or, un des reproches que l'auteur adresse aux *kuttāb* est leur faiblesse pour la science grecque qu'il stigmatise en ces termes: “/Le *kātib* se détourne des sciences religieuses/ pour se diriger vers une science que certains lui offrent toute prête, à lui et à ses semblables, et où peu de gens sont aptes à discuter; une science consistant en une adaptation admirable, mais ne voulant rien dire, et possédant un nom formidable, mais ne recouvrant aucune réalité concrète. Lorsque l'individu sans expérience et le petit jeune homme facile à éblouir entendent parler de ‘L'Existence et de la Corruption’, de la ‘Physique’, des ‘Noms incomplexes’, de la ‘Qualité’, de la ‘Quantité’, du ‘Temps’, de la ‘Démonstration’, des ‘Complexes énonciatifs’, ils s'ébaubissent et pensent que ces vocables recouvrent toutes sortes de choses pleines d'intérêt et d'élégance;” etc. Il cite nombre d'expressions bien connues sur la même gamme et qui remontent à Aristote ou à ses commentateurs (trad. Lecomte, op. cit., p. 53). La *falsafa* et le *kalām* suscitent la méfiance et la colère d'Ibn Qutayba surtout parce qu'ils détournent les *kuttāb* de leurs obligations et les amènent à mépriser les sciences arabes traditionnelles et à critiquer les traditions et le livre de Dieu. Les accès de colère contre la tendance “philosophante” des *kuttāb* et les exemples cités pour illustrer celle-ci qui apparaissent dans la première partie de la préface du *Kitāb adab al-kātib* sont intéressants par ce qu'ils nous révèlent de l'espèce de “philosophie” qui était répandue au temps d'Ibn Qutayba, ce que c'était dans la philosophie grecque qui captivait l'intérêt des savants et littérateurs arabes et influençait leur pensée, et quelles en étaient les expressions courantes. Chez Ibn Qutayba, il ne s'agit pas d'un exposé philosophique méthodique mais d'une oeuvre d'*adab*. *Adab al-kātib* fut écrit avant 850. Le vocabulaire logique et philosophique n'était pas encore fixé à cette époque. C'est l'époque que Zimmermann appelle “the incubation period of logic in the Arabic language” qui se termine avec al-Fārābī (Some observations, p. 536). C'est pour cette raison qu'il y a intérêt à étudier les termes employés pour des notions philosophiques et logiques aussi dans les œuvres non-philosophiques. Ils peuvent refléter la terminologie des traductions ou des œuvres logiques perdues ou encore une tradition orale. C'est dans la première partie de la préface qu'apparaît la

critique de la tendance hellénisante chez les *kuttāb*. Je viens de citer la traduction du début du passage en question et je choisis maintenant pour une analyse le onzième exemple que donne Ibn Qutayba dans les termes suivants: *wa-l-kalāmu arba'atun: amrun wa-xabarun wa-stixbārun wa-rāḡbatun talāṭatun lā yadxuluhā ṣ-ṣidqu wa-l-kidbu wa-hiya: l-amru wa-l-istixbāru wa-r-rāḡbatu wa-wāḥidun yadxuluhu ṣ-ṣidqu wa-l-kidbu wa-huwa l-xabaru* (éd. Grünert, p. 4, 5-7; éd. 1986, p. 7, 11-13). “Le discours comporte quatre genres: commandement, proposition (énonciatif), question et demande. Trois de ces genres n’impliquent ni vrai, ni faux: ce sont le commandement, la question, et la demande; le quatrième implique soit le vrai, soit le faux; c’est la proposition (l’énonciatif)”. Comme nous allons le voir, ces paroles ont une histoire au sein des commentaires grecs de l’Organon d’Aristote, dans la tradition syriaque, et dans celle des Arabes. La distinction entre l’énonciatif et trois (ou quatre) autres genres de discours a son origine dans les commentaires du Peri Hermeneias. La façon de les citer ici montre qu’elles devaient être bien connues au temps d’Ibn Qutayba. L’auteur pouvait sans doute être sûr que ses lecteurs, c’est-à-dire les *kuttāb*, les reconnaîtraient. Avant d’en examiner l’histoire, nous allons porter notre attention sur un autre passage de la préface. Dans la dernière partie de celle-ci, après avoir stigmatisé la tendance “philosophisante” futile des *kuttāb*, l’auteur se met à donner des conseils et des leçons au *kātib*. Un de ses enseignements est que l’auteur d’une lettre ou d’un livre doit toujours faire attention au caractère, à la capacité et au rang du destinataire aussi bien qu’à sa propre capacité et à sa position vis-à-vis de celui-ci et adapter son style en conséquence. Or, Ibn Qutayba, pour illustrer ce point, se sert des mêmes paroles au sujet des quatre genres de discours qu’il vient de condamner quelques pages plus haut. Ces paroles, qui étaient la première fois citées comme un objet de ridicule, sont ici citées en tant qu’enseignement très sérieux à l’intention des *kuttāb*. Apparemment, l’auteur n’est pas conscient qu’il s’agit du même adage dans les deux cas. La teneur du passage est la suivante, Ibn Qutayba citant les paroles d’Abrawīzu<sup>1</sup> que celui-ci adresse à son *kātib*: *innamā l-kalāmu arba'atun su'āluka ṣ-ṣay'a wasu'āluka 'ani ṣ-ṣay'i wa-amruka bi-ṣ-ṣay'i wa-xabruka 'ani ṣ-ṣay'i, fa-hādihi da'āimu l-maqālāti in ultumisa ilayhā xāmisun lam yūğad wa-in naqaşa minhā rābi'un lam tatimma fa-idā ṭalabta fa-asğih wa-idā sa'alta fa-awdih wa-idā amarta fa-ahkīm wa-idā axbarta fahāqqiqi.*<sup>2</sup> (éd. Grünert, p. 18,5-10; éd. 1986, p. 19, 4-8). “Le discours comporte quatre /genres/: ta demande de quelque chose et ta question au sujet de quelque chose et ton commandement au sujet de quelque chose et ton énoncé de quelque chose. Ceux-ci sont les piliers du discours. Si on veut ajouter un cinquième /genre/ on n’en trouvera pas et si un des quatre manque, le discours ne sera pas complet. Donc, si tu demandes, sois bienveillant, et si tu interroges, expose clairement ta question, et si tu commandes, fais le bien, et si tu énonces, prouve la vérité (de ce que tu énonces). “Le fait que les mots utilisés sont autres que ceux de la première citation explique que l’auteur ne s’est point rendu compte qu’il s’agit du même adage dans les deux cas. Cela montre aussi qu’Ibn Qutayba a utilisé deux sources différentes. Les mêmes paroles sont citées dans ‘Uyūn al-axbār d’Ibn Qutayba avec une référence au *Kitāb at-Tāḡ*, un livre dont l’essentiel est constitué par des recommandations de Pervīz (Abrawīzu) à son fils et adapté à ce qu’il semble par Ibn al-Muqaffa’. Je ne saurais dire s’il s’agit du père ‘Abdallāh Ibn

al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> ou du fils Muhammad Ibn ‘Abdallā Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> (*Uyūn I*, p. 46, 9–11; voir aussi Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, pp. 188–189) avec l'introduction suivante: *wa-‘lam anna ġumā’ a lkalāmi kullahu xiṣālun arba’un* “Sache que la totalité de tout discours consiste en quatre caractéristiques”.

Regardons maintenant l'arrière-plan de ces citations. Elles remontent en dernier lieu aux commentaires du *Peri Hermeneias* d'Aristote 17a 2–3 où Aristote dit: “Pourtant tout discours n'est pas une proposition (ἀποφαντικός), mais seulement le discours dans lequel réside le vrai ou le faux, ce qui n'arrive pas dans tous les cas: ainsi la prière est un discours, mais elle n'est ni vraie ni fausse. – Laissons de côté les autres genres de discours: leur examen est plutôt l'œuvre de la Rhétorique ou de la Poétique.” (trad. Tricot, p. 84). L'affirmation: vrai-faux ne s'applique, comme nous le voyons, qu'au ἀποφαντικός. Les autres genres de discours n'appartiennent point à la logique.<sup>3</sup> Aristote renvoie l'étude de ces genres de discours non-énonciatifs à la Poétique et à la Rhétorique. Dans la Poétique (1456b), il renvoie l'étudiant à la Rhétorique pour apprendre quoi dire et comment le dire dans chaque situation. Ce sont les commentateurs du *Peri Hermeneias* qui introduisent les genres du discours non-énonciatifs. Le nombre de ceux-ci varie entre quatre et cinq dans les commentaires de la tradition péripatéticienne selon que l'on considérerait le vocatif équivalent à une phrase complète ou non.<sup>4</sup> Ainsi nous avons, par exemple, parmi les commentateurs grecs et latins:

1. Ammonius<sup>(1)</sup> avec cinq: λόγος προστακτικός, λόγος ἐρωτηματικός, λόγος εὐκτικός, λόγος κλητικός, λόγος ἀποφαντικός (Prooimion du *Peri Hermeneias* CAG 4:5, p. 2, 9s.; Comm. du *Peri Hermeneias* CAG 4:5, p. 64, 30s.; Comm. du *Isagoge* CAG 4:1, p. 43, 5ss.).
2. Stephanus avec les mêmes cinq (Comm. du *Peri Herm.* CAG 18:3, p. 19, 11s.)
3. Ammonius<sup>(2)</sup> avec quatre = ci-dessus à l'exception du λόγος κλητικός (Prooe-  
mum et comm. des Premières Analytiques CAG 4:6, pp. 2; 15; 26).
4. Boethius avec quatre i.e. *oratio deprecativa, imperativa, interrogativa, enuntiati-  
va* (Migne LXIV, 553ss.)
5. Philoponus également avec quatre = Ammonius<sup>(2)</sup> (Comm. des Prem. Anal. CAG 13:2, p. 33, 3 et Comm. des Sec. Anal. CAG 13:3, pp. 147, 30ss.; 148, 3; 363).
6. Simplicius avec quatre = Ammonius<sup>(2)</sup> (Comm. de la Physique CAG 9, p. 91, 19).

Parmi les commentateurs syriaques nous avons la même répartition:

1. Probus, par exemple, compte avec cinq genres: *pāqōdā*, *məša’əlānā*, *məpisānā*, *qārōyā*, *pāsōqā* (Hoffmann, p. 66s.; cf. aussi p. 115).
2. Paulus Persā a les mêmes cinq que Probus avec la différence que Paulus appelle le premier *puqdānā*. (*Logica*, éd. Land, p. 10, 24 et p. 11, 1<sup>5</sup>).
3. Athanasius de Balad a cinq: *məṣalləyānā*, *məša’əlānā*, *qārōyā*, *pāqōdā*, *pāsōqā* (p. 732, 7–9).
4. Sergius de Rēšaynā par contre a quatre: *pāqōdā*, *məša’əlānā*, *məṣalləyānā*, *haw*

*dō-fāseq* (voir G. Furlani in Riv. tr. studi fil. rel. 3, 1922, p. 148). Sergius seul a les quatre genres.

Les Arabes avant Ibn Qutayba sont particulièrement intéressants pour notre sujet. J'ai trouvé:

1. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ avec quatre: *amr*, *su’āl*, *mas’ala*, *xabar* (Zimmermann, Some observations, n. 65, citant Manṭiq Aristū, paraphrase des œuvres logiques d'Aristote, p. 163,2)
2. al-Kindī avec une liste de un + huit (neuf)<sup>6</sup>: 1. *al-muxbir mina l-qawl* (voir Rasā'il 1, éd. Rida, p. 380, 5; al-Yāqūbī, Historiae I, éd. Houtsma, p. 146, 4) c'est-à-dire *al-maqālatu ‘alā l-ğazmi wa-l-basīti l-maqūli* "discours catégorique et simple" et les autres huit (neuf) qui appartiennent au *qawl laysa bi-ğāzim*: 2. *istixbār*, 3. *du’ā’*, 4. *rāğib*, 5. *ta’ağğub*, 6. */qasam/*, 7. *şakk*, 8. *waḍ*, 9. *mağāzī*. (voir al-Yāqūbī, op. cit. p. 146, 9ss).<sup>7</sup>

Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ se joint à la liste de ceux qui comptent avec quatre genres de discours, soit Ammonius dans son commentaire des Premiers Analytiques, Boethius, Philoponus, Simplicius et Sergius de Rēşaynā. Al-Kindī de son côté à la liste stoïcienne de 10 (9) genres de discours.<sup>7</sup> Il ressort du nombre de genres et aussi de la terminologie qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ et al-Kindī représentent deux traditions différentes ici. Il reste à voir si celles-ci sont comparables à celles que nous trouvons exemplifiées dans les deux citations d'Ibn Qutayba. Pour commencer avec la deuxième citation d'Ibn Qutayba, la terminologie est pratiquement identique à celle d'Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ dans Manṭiq Aristū la seule différence étant *su’āl ‘an* (I. Q.) contre *mas’ala* (M.) ce qui n'est pas une grande différence.<sup>8</sup> L'argument faisant d'Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, père ou fils, la source de la deuxième citation d'Ibn Qutayba est encore appuyé par la référence au roi perse Abrawīzu aussi bien ici que dans ‘Uyūn et au *Kitāb at-Tāğ* que l'on attribue justement à Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Le contexte dans lequel les paroles se situent dans le texte cité dans ‘Uyūn est le même qu'ici. Il fait partie d'une longue citation du *Kitāb at-Tāğ* consistant en les paroles d'Abrawīzu à son secrétaire. Le raisonnement d'Ibn Qutayba et d'Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ avec l'exhortation aux *kuttāb* d'adapter leur style à la personnalité et au rang du destinataire et ne pas s'adresser aux personnalités importantes avec des mots vils et simples et vice versa, ainsi que l'application de ce raisonnement aux genres de discours est présent in nuce déjà chez Ammonius et à un moindre degré chez Probus et se trouve plus tard chez al-Fārābī dans le commentaire du Peri Hermeneias. Dans le commentaire d'Ammonius du Peri Hermeneias 5, 1-17 nous lisons: "On dit que notre âme a deux genres de facultés, les cognitives et les vitales ou appétitives (...), les quatre genres de discours à côté de l'énonciatif émanant des facultés appétitives, (quand l'âme n'est pas active en elle-même mais tend vers quelqu'un d'autre qui semble apte à contribuer à la satisfaction de son désir; ou bien elle cherche des paroles de celui-ci comme dans ce qui s'appelle question ou interrogation, ou bien une action; si c'est une action, elle essaie d'atteindre la personne même à laquelle s'adresse le discours comme au cas du vocatif, ou d'obtenir une action de celle-ci; dans le dernier cas, c'est ou bien

d'un supérieur comme dans la prière, ou bien d'un inférieur comme dans l'impératif proprement dit.) Seuls les énonciatifs émanent des facultés cognitives ... et ils sont pour cette raison susceptibles d'être vrais ou faux, les autres non".<sup>9</sup> Ainsi Ibn Qutayba exploite ici une tradition logique et rhétorique grecque qui remonte à Aristote et dont nous avons des raisons de supposer qu'elle lui est parvenue par l'intermédiaire d'Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Quant à la première citation où Ibn Qutayba énumère quatre genres de discours elle apparaît simplement comme un exemple parmi d'autres de la tendance "hellénisante" des *kuttāb* que condamne Ibn Quṭayba. Ce passage n'est pas intégré dans un contexte littéraire. Quant aux termes employés, il y a des ressemblances avec le début de la liste d'al-Kindī: *al-muxbir min al-qawl* (K.) – *xabar* (I. Q.); *istixbār* (K.) – *istixbār* (I. Q.); *rāgib* (K.) – *raġba* (I. Q.). Il y a une différence pour le *du 'ād* d'al-Kindī qui semble correspondre au *amr* d'Ibn Qutayba. *du'ād* signifie "*supplication*" (à Dieu) ou "appel" et non pas "ordre" qu'on s'attend à trouver ici. C'est le mot employé dans la traduction d'Ishāq Ibn Ḥunayn du Peri Hermeneias pour εὐχή. Dans la liste d'al-Kindī l'équivalent semble être plutôt *ar-rāgib*. Ainsi le terme *du'ād* devint libre pour servir à rendre un autre concept ici et l'exemple donné pour illustrer le terme indique qu'il s'agit d'un ordre ou d'une combinaison du vocatif et de l'ordre: *ka-qawlika ya fulānu iqbal*. Le vocatif, c'est-à-dire λόγος ἀλητικός, était parfois inclus parmi les genres de discours, parfois pas. Le restant de la liste d'al-Kindī offre des ressemblances avec la deuxième partie de celle de Paulus Persā (voir ci-dessus p.4 et note 7). Elles constituent des variations de la longue liste des stoïciens qui regardaient les genres de discours et leur relation avec la logique d'une façon différente de celle des péripatéticiens. Al-Baṭalyūsī (d. 1127), dans son commentaire du Adab al-kātib, parle d'une grande variation d'opinion parmi les savants quant au nombre des genres de discours non-énonciatifs. Certains comptent avec dix, d'autres avec neuf, huit, sept, six, cinq, quatre ou trois avec des combinaisons d'éléments variées. Quant à Ibn Qutayba, c'est le nombre quatre qu'il a connu et qu'il cite dans les deux cas. A part la différence du nombre, il semble néanmoins qu'Ibn Qutayba dans sa première citation au sujet des genres de *kalām* suit la même tradition de traduction que représente al-Kindī et qui diffère de celle d'Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Le *xabar* pour λόγος ἀποφαντικός qui sert à distinguer les énonciatifs des autres genres de discours que nous avons trouvé chez Ibn al-Muqaffa' est ancien. On trouve l'équivalent *al-muxbir min al-qawl* chez al-Kindī. Il fut remplacé par *qawl ġāzim* chez la plupart mais figure souvent dans les textes pour expliquer ce dernier terme. Il ne rend pas le syriaque *mēmrā pāsōqā*. Cela pourrait indiquer qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa' ait traduit du grec sans l'intermédiaire syriaque. Al-Kindī de son côté révèle une connaissance des raisonnements logiques en syriaque puisque il parle de la *maqālatu 'alā l-ğazm* et du *qawl laysa bi-ğazim*, ce qui est une traduction exacte du *mēmrā pāsōqā* syriaque et non du λόγος ἀποφαντικός.<sup>10</sup> Plus tard Ishāq Ibn Ḥunayn écrit aussi *qawl ġāzim* dans sa traduction du Peri Hermeneias 17a pour rendre λόγος ἀποφαντικός /*mēmrā pāsōqā* (Badawi, Manṭiq, Dir. Isl. 7, p. 63; Hoffmann, p. 58).<sup>11</sup> Nous trouvons *qawl ġāzim* également chez al-Fārābī dans le commentaire du Peri Hermeneias faisant partie d'un nouveau vocabulaire forgé pour les cinq genres du *kalām* soit: *amr*, *ṭalab*, *tadarru'*, *nidār*, *qawl ġāzim* (Kutsch-Marrow, p. 51; Zimmermann, 1981, p. 43 n. 4). Les *Ixwān as-Ṣafā'* ont des termes

plus proches de ceux d'Ibn Qutayba soit: *amr*, *su'āl*, *niddā*, *tamannā*, *axbār* (Traité 12 du Vol. I, éd. Bausani, pp. 87–88).

Pour conclure, il semble bien qu'Ibn Qutayba pour la question des genres du discours eût accès à deux traditions à la terminologie différente, une qui apparut à l'auteur comme un élément étranger, hellénisant, faisant partie d'une science sans substance ou valeur contre laquelle il met en garde les *kuttāb*, l'autre remontant, il est vrai, aux Perses Abrawīzū et Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> mais acceptée et intégrée dans une tradition arabe au point qu'elle peut servir à l'instruction de ces mêmes *kuttāb*.

Un deuxième détail dans la préface du *Adab al-kātib* qui peut nous révéler certains rapports est “l'histoire de la maison” qui figure parmi les exemples de la tendance hellénisante qui suscite l'ironie d'Ibn Qutayba (éd. Grünert, pp. 4–5; éd. 1986, p. 8). L'histoire est la suivante dans la traduction de Lecomte, 1957, p. 55: “J'ai entendu dire qu'un groupe de philosophes rationalistes demandèrent un jour à Muḥammad b. al-Ğahm de leur développer un point intéressant et curieux de la Logique. Il leur demanda alors: – Savez-vous ce que veut dire le Maître par cette maxime: le début de la pensée correspond à la fin de l'acte et le début de l'acte à la fin de la pensée? Ils le prièrent de la leur expliquer, et il dit: – C'est le cas d'un homme qui dirait: Je vais me fabriquer un abri; imaginons que sa pensée se porte sur le toit, puis aille de haut en bas. Il comprendra que le toit suppose nécessairement la présence d'un mur, que le mur ne peut tenir que sur un soubassement, et le soubassement sur des fondations. Il commencera donc par aménager les fondations, puis le soubassement, puis le mur et enfin le toit. C'est ainsi que la fin de son acte correspondra au début de sa pensée, et qu'il aura achevé d'agir par là où il avait commencé à penser. Quel intérêt présente cette question? Ignore-t-on cela au point d'éprouver le besoin de l'exprimer dans des termes aussi épouvantables?” Cette histoire est en effet un *topos* qui surgit ici et là dans les littératures syriaque, arabe et juive. Elle a son origine chez Aristote dans l'*Ethique d'Eudème* (1227b18) et dans la *Métaphysique* (1032b15 et 1050a4). On la retrouve telle quelle à ce que je crois, pour la première fois, chez le commentateur d'Aristote Alexandre d'Aphrodisias dans son commentaire de la *Métaphysique*. On la trouve aussi chez Johannes Philoponus et Simplicius dans leurs commentaires respectifs des *Catégories*. Dans le domaine syriaque, elle est reprise par Probus et Bāzūd dans leurs commentaires du *Peri Hermeneias*, et chez Sergius de Rēşaynā dans un traité sur les *Catégories* pour me tenir uniquement aux textes composés avant Ibn Qutayba. Ce *topos* est donc arrivé jusqu'à Ibn Qutayba qui l'a entendu d'Ibn al-Ğahm et l'exploite dans une intention ironique sans égard au contenu. Nous ne possédons pas d'œuvre d'Ibn al-Ğahm et nous ne connaissons pas ses sources immédiates. Mais nous savons que l'histoire est entrée dans la littérature arabe par Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> qui la cite dans la paraphrase des œuvres logiques d'Aristote. On la trouve aussi chez 'Alī b. Sahl b. Rabban at-Tabarī dans *Firdaws al-ḥikma* composé à la même époque que *Adab al-kātib* soit environ 850.<sup>12</sup> Ce qui m'intéresse pour l'instant est la différence que l'on peut constater entre l'élaboration de l'histoire chez Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>, at-Tabarī et Ibn Qutayba et celle des exemples syriaques. Cette différence est petite mais peut-être significative. Ibn Qutayba compte quatre stades de la conception et la construction de la maison: 1. *as-saqf* “le toit”, 2. *al-ḥā'iṭ* “le mur”, 3. *al-uṣṣ* “le soubassement”, 4. *al-aṣl* “la

fondation". Pareillement Ibn al-Muqaffa' et at-Tabarī ont quatre stades ou facteurs: I. M.: 1. *saqf*, 2. *ḥiṭān*, 3. *asās*, 4. *tīn wa-ḥaḡāra* (Stern, p.). T.: 1. *sāṭh*, 2. *ḥaḍīṭ*, 3. *ağurr wa ḡiṣṣ*, 4. *asās* (Firdaws, p. 6, 13f.). Les Syriens Probus et Bāzūd et Sergius de Rēš "aynā (et aussi après eux l'auteur du Kētābā də – 'al ida 'tā da-ṣrārā du XIe siècle)<sup>13</sup>, par contre, ne parlent tous que de trois stades: 1. *taṭlīlā* "le toit", 2. *essā* "les murs", 3. *šeṭ’essā*. "les fondations". Quant aux Johannes Philoponus (Prooimion in Categ. p. 11, 5-17) et Simplicius (Prooimion in Categ. 14, 10 et In Categ. 421, 18 ref. 14a26) ils comptent avec quatre stades dans la conception et construction: 1. σκέπασμα, ὁροφή, σκεπή "toit", 2. τοῖχος "mur", 3. θεμέλιον "soubassement", 4. ὀρύττειν τὴν γῆν "le creusement de la terre", tout comme nos auteurs arabes. Ceci pourrait indiquer que ces derniers ont reçu l'histoire par un autre canal que le syrien ou en tout cas par un autre que celui représenté par Probus ou Sergius à moins qu'un traducteur arabe n'ait choisi de rendre le *šeṭ’essā* syriaque par deux mots ou expressions arabes, ce qui paraît moins plausible surtout en ce qui concerne le texte d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' avec les précisions: *tīn wa-ḥaḡāra* "mortier et pierre" (et at-Tabarī *ağurr wa-ḡiṣṣ*). Pour Ibn Qutayba c'est plus plausible, soit que le *šeṭ’essā* syriaque est rendu par *uss* et *asl*, mais ceci pourrait indiquer en son tour un souci de garder le nombre quatre des grecs et montrerait en ce cas une certaine connaissance de la tradition grecque. Il est à noter, toutefois, que le grec ὀρύττειν le quatrième élément, ne soit traduit ni en syriaque, ni en arabe. En réalité, les deux versions, celle de trois et celle de quatre stades, remontent en dernier lieu à Alexandre d'Aphrodisias. Il l'utilise dans le commentaire de la Métaphysique deux fois, une fois avec quatre (Métaphysique 1032b15): 1. σκέπασμα, 2. τοῖχος, 3. θεμέλιον, 4. ὀρύξαι la deuxième fois avec trois stades (Métaphysique 1050a4): 1. ὁροφόν, 2. τοῖχος, 3. θεμέλιον. C'est la première version avec quatre phases qui a prévalu chez les commentateurs grecs et, à ce qu'il semble, chez les arabes. Ceci est un détail mais il est possible qu'un nombre de détails comme celui-ci et celui que nous avons relaté ci-dessus au sujet de *xabar* puissent nous aider à préciser comment s'est effectuée la transmission et par quelles voies. Je n'élaborerai pas ici le thème de "l'histoire de la maison" (traité par S. M. Stern, voir n. 12) et sa place dans la littérature syriaque et arabe et aussi juive. J'ai seulement voulu attirer l'attention sur cet autre détail dans la préface d'Ibn Qutayba qui indique peut-être tout comme le *xabar* un lien direct de transmission gréco-arabe.

Par ces deux exemples, j'ai voulu montrer l'intérêt qu'il peut y avoir à examiner les réalisations littéraires des idées d'origine logique ou philosophique dans les premières œuvres d'*adab*. On peut y trouver des traces des premières traductions arabes du grec qui peuvent contribuer à clarifier les voies par lesquelles les premiers spécimens de l'héritage grec sont arrivés jusqu'aux Arabes.

## NOTES

- i.e. Khusrō, le second de ce nom avec le surnom Abharvez "le victorieux", c'est-à-dire Kisrā II Pervīz, roi Sassanide.
- Les mots *fa'idā ṭalabta fa-asḡīḥ* se sont frayé un chemin jusqu'aux dictionnaires, par ex. le *Sīḥah*

- d'al-Ğawharī: *fa-idā sa' alta fa-asğih*, cité par Lane et traduit par lui “when thou askest (or beggest), then make thy words, (or expressions), easy, and be gentle”.
3. Les stoïciens n'appliquent pas la même division du discours que les péripatéticiens. Ils comptent avec plus que cinq genres. A côté du ἀξίωμα qui correspond au ἀποφαντικός et auquel on applique la notion vrai – faux, il y a un nombre d'autres genres de discours (de phrases) qui participent, mais seulement en partie, au jugement vrai – faux. D'un autre côté, ils divisent le λόγος en λόγος, ἐνδιαθητός qui appartient à la logique et λόγος προφορικός qu'ils réfèrent à la grammaire et à la rhétorique, ce qui correspond avec la division péripatéticienne des genres de discours. Nous trouvons une combinaison de la doctrine du λ. ἐνδιαθητός/λ. προφορικός des stoïciens et celle des quatre ou cinq genres de discours des péripatéticiens chez Paulus Persā. Celui-ci ajoute aussi cinq autres genres de discours (voir ci-dessous, n. 7).
  4. Cf. al-Fārābī, Commentary to the Hermeneutics 17a2, ed. Kutsch-Marrow, p. 51; ed. Zimmermann, p. 43 n. 4.
  5. Je n'ai pas accès au commentaire de Paulus Persā sur le *Peri Hermeneias*. Pour une analyse plus poussée il faudra explorer à fond tous les témoignages existants. – Pour la translittération du syriaque j'ai suivi le système introduit par F.Rundgren, voir que le i étymologiquement long s'écrit ī simplement et que la prononciation fricative des b, g, d, t, k n'est pas marquée. p fricatif = f. Le ē de Brockelmann est rendu par ā. Je rend les textes selon la pratique nestorienne.
  6. C'est dans la *risālā* contenant les écrits d'Aristote que figurent ces paroles. L'auteur annonce neuf genres à côté du *muxbir 'an al-qawl*. Il en manque un dans l'énumération ce qui est sans doute dû au fait que l'impératif et le vocatif sont tous les deux exprimés par un seul terme *du'ā'*.
  7. cf. Paulus Persā qui a une liste de cinq genres ajoutée à celle déjà donnée (ci-dessus, p. 3): 1. *mawmātā* (jurajuranda), 2. *haw da-b-ēn ēn imāmā* (profecto si), 3. *paysəkāyā* (dubitando), 4. *də-lā məšamli* (imperfectus), 5. *pāqōdūtā* (jussivus; Land IV, p. 11, trad., p. 12). Le 1 et le 3 coïncident avec al-Kindī 5 et 6. On retrouve les termes correspondants dispersés dans les listes des auteurs stoïciens, voir Stoic. vet. 2, p. 60f.
  8. Cité par Zimmermann, Some observations, p. 545, n. 65. Je n'ai pas accès au *Manṭiq Aristū* même. Cf. MS Paris al-Fārābī, Comm. de *Peri Hermeneias*, où il y a une note attribuée à un “Allinus” (lynws). Ici, nous trouvons les mêmes quatre genres de discours et, à ce qu'il semble les mêmes termes (voir Zimmermann, Al-Farabi's Commentary, p. 254).
  9. Pareillement, Ammonius dit dans le commentaire du *Isagoge*, p. 43, que λόγος ἀποφαντικός est ὁ ἄγγελος de la faculté cognitive tandis que les autres appartiennent à la faculté appetitive. Le même souci de diviser les phénomènes et de les placer dans l'un des deux domaines, celui de la logique et celui de la réalisation ou l'application, se produit aussi chez certains rhétoriciens qui réfèrent les trois genres de discours: le délibératif, le judiciaux et le démonstratif aux trois facultés de l'âme d'une façon qui varie d'un auteur à l'autre (voir Rabe, Prolegomenon et mon *The Syriac preface*, p. 69) Je reviendrai à cette question.
  10. Est-ce d'ailleurs forcément ἀποφαντικός qui est la seule base concevable ici? Ne pourrait-on aussi bien penser que le διήγησις “narration” de la Poétique (1456b) qui figure dans la liste: ἐντολή “commandement”, εὐχή “prière”, διήγησις “narration”, ἀπειλή “menace”, ἔρωτησις “interrogation”, ἀπόκρισις “réponse”, ou le διήγησις “narration” de la Rhétorique, ou le διήγησις “proposition logique” de Zenon (Stoic. vet. 1, 23) aient contribué au choix initial du *xabar*? – Abū Biš Mattā rend le διήγησις de la Poétique par *hadīt* et les autres genres par *amr*, *ṣalāt*, *ḥaraḍ*, *su'āl*, *gawāb*.
  11. Pour ἀπόφανοις dans la Rhétorique, nous trouvons *qađiyya*, ce qui est considéré par certains comme étant une traduction du ἀξίωμα stoïque.
  12. voir G. Furlani, “Di una presunta versione araba di alcuni scritti di Porfirio e di Aristotele”, et S. M. Stern “The first in thought is the last in action”. Je remercie la Dr. Karin Almbladh d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce dernier.
  13. voir F. Rundgren, 1987–88.

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# Arabische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Stoizismus

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Die Bedeutung des Arabischen für die griechische Philologie liegt auf der Hand, wenn wir es mit Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen ins Arabische zu tun haben. Hier meldet sich jedoch gleich ein spezifisches Problem an. In älterer Zeit sind, soweit wir sehen, Übertragungen aus dem Griechischen ins Arabische meistens über das *Altsyrische* vorgenommen worden. Es soll jedoch hinzugefügt werden, daß wir kaum darüber noch ganz im klaren sind, ob es doch nicht schon damals *mehr* von direkten Versionen aus dem Griechischen gegeben habe als wir gewöhnlicherweise vorauszusetzen geneigt sind. Wie dem auch sei, in beiden Fällen kann uns die arabische Überlieferung bei der Konstituierung des Textes eines griechischen Originals behilflich sein.

Für mein Thema, das schon von M. Horten und S. Horowitz und anderen behandelt worden ist, möchte ich aber auf eine ganz andere Bedeutung des Arabischen für unser Verständnis griechischer Texte aufmerksam machen. Diese andere Bedeutung hängt mit der großen Frage von der *Rezeption* der griechischen Kultur durch die Araber eng zusammen. Hier interessiert uns nur die Übernahme hauptsächlich philosophischer Gedanken, von welchen einige im Islam einen besonders großen Raum einnehmen. Eben dieser große Raum, den gewisse Konzeptionen im Islam erforderlich gemacht haben, ist es nun, der auch den Gräzisten bisweilen dazu verhelfen kann, seine eigenen binnengriechischen Probleme besser zu verstehen. Im seinem Nachruf auf den unvergesslichen Philologen-Fürsten Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff sagt der noch heute hochgeschätzte Latinist Einar Löfstedt, Wilamowitz habe die Eigenheit gehabt, die ihn besonders beschäftigenden Probleme bisweilen in der Belichtung eines bengalischen Feuers erscheinen zu lassen, was natürlich – das meint ja Löfstedt – zu Überinterpretationen führen kann.

Dasselbe ließe sich nun – *mutatis mutandis* – von der Art und Weise sagen, wie die Araber die Übernahme griechischer Gedanken gehandhabt haben, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen. 1. Der spezifische Charakter der islamischen Kulturform, nämlich ein theokratischer Staat, dessen Grundlage die Offenbarungen darstellten, welche der Gesandte Allâhs, Muhammad, einst empfangen hatte, und die in dem heiligen Buche der Araber, dem Qur’ân, gesammelt waren. 2. Der gewaltige Kampf des Christentums gegen die griechische Vernunftreligion des Hellenismus und der Spätantike war schon längst ausgefochten, und zwar nicht nur mit dem Schwert, sondern auch mit den Waffen des Geistes. Der Schmied dieser Waffen war Aristoteles, der schon lange vorher der christlichen Theologie ungefähr dieselben Dienste geleistet hatte, die er jetzt wieder der islamischen Theologie erweisen konnte. Doch, weder früher noch später handelt es sich jetzt um einen ganz authentischen Aristoteles, sondern, in dogmatisch wichtigen Fragen, um etwas Eklektisches, um eine Mischung von Platonismus und Aristotelismus, die man gewöhnlicherweise »Neuplatonismus« nennt.

Bei der Rezeption dieser Art von griechischer Philosophie behandeln nun die Araber gewisse Probleme – zustimmend oder ablehnend – bisweilen eben im Lichte eines bengalischen Feuers, insofern als sie dabei nicht nur sehr ausführlich sind – denn sie haben sich häufig den verwickelten und nicht selten langweiligen Stil der Aristoteles-Kommentare irgendwie angeeignet –, sondern auch weil sie ihre eigenen, von ihrer Religion, dem Islam, diktierten und gefärbten Akzente so plazieren, daß diese auch auf die spezifisch griechische – und bisweilen sogar lateinische – Problematik ein Streiflicht abwerfen, so daß wir unsere alphilologischen Streitfragen bisweilen besser beurteilen können. Es ist dies eine Frage von dem, was ich den *hermeneutischen Horizont* der Araber nennen möchte. Damit führe ich meinen ersten Araber ein, nämlich Abû Naşr al-Fârâbî (gest. 950), der zweite Lehrer genannt, d.h. der zweite Aristoteles.

Dieser wahrhaftig große Mann, dessen Produktion sehr umfangreich ist, hat eine kleine Abhandlung verfaßt, die dazu besonders geeignet ist, uns *in medias res* einzuführen. Ihr Titel lautet *Kitâb al-Ğam'bayn ra'yay al-ħakîmayn Aflâṭûn al-ilâhî wa Aristûṭâlîs* »Das Buch von der Harmonie zwischen den Ansichten der beiden Weisen, Platon dem göttlichen und Aristoteles«. Wie man versteht, ist al-Fârâbî nicht auf eigene Faust zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, Platon und Aristoteles hätten in wichtigen Fragen dasselbe gesagt und vor allem gedacht. Diese schon früh weit verbreitete Auffassung hat er einfach übernommen, konnte es auch umso eher tun, als er auch die nur arabisch tradierte Schrift »Die Theologie des Aristoteles« (von Nâ'imâ 835 übersetzt) für echt gehalten hat. So zeigt uns schon die recht un-muslimische Form der obligatorischen Anfangsformel den hermeneutischen Horizont des Verfassers, denn sie lautet: »Preis gebührt dem Spender und Hervorbringer des Intellekts (*aql*) und dem Bildner (*muṣawwir*) und Hervorruber des Alls. Es genügt seine uralte (*qâdim*) Güte (*iḥsân*) und Gnadenspende (*ifdâl*). Der Segenswunsch ist über Muḥammad, den Herrn der Propheten und seine Familie, auszusprechen.«

Wie wir sahen, wird Platon *al-ilâhî* »der Göttliche« genannt, und ihn so zu benennen, gab es ja für einen Muslim durchaus keinen Anlaß. Hier steht aber al-Fârâbî in einer neuplatonischen Tradition. Wenigstens seit Plotin ist Platon ὁ Θεῖος »der Göttliche«, und in seinem Kommentar zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles spricht Syrianos, der Lehrer des antiken Hegel, Proklos, von den Lehren Platons als θεῖα δόγματα (23, 35) usw. Platon ist zum *Religionssifter* geworden, und eben diese Tatsache hat Juden, Christen und Muslimen auf der einen Seite große Schwierigkeiten bereitet, auf der anderen aber ihnen den Weg zu einer Lösung des Problems der Offenbarung gewiesen. Nachdem Aristoteles die Philosophie vom Himmel zur Erde endgültig heruntergeholt hatte, konnte man trotzdem mit Hilfe vom Platonischen Eros und der Vernunft, νοῦς, wieder zur Ideenwelt aufsteigen, um schließlich, bei Einhaltung der dafür geforderten ethischen Observanz, der Gnade des ekstatischen Schauens teilhaft zu werden. Denn auf dieser höchsten Stufe versagte die Vernunft.

Aus der Vereinigung von Platon und Aristoteles ergab sich die Möglichkeit, das eklektische System des Neuplatonismus in beiden Richtungen zu gebrauchen sozusagen: der Platonisch-aristotelische Weg führte den Menschen aufwärts zu dem

Einen, und infolge des so geschaffenen neuplatonischen Monismus konnte jetzt derselbe Mensch die Rückfahrt zur Erde antreten.

Diese Art von Philosophie war auch Kosmologie, *Welterklärung* als Religion, und in dem geschlossenen und geregelten Kosmos, in dem man lebte, war es von großer Bedeutung, auch im geistig-religiösen Sinne die beiden Wege, den Weg aufwärts und den Weg abwärts, miteinander harmonisieren zu können. Denn vom Standpunkt des inneren Systems aus war ja die Kommunikation zwischen Gott und Mensch in den positiven Offenbarungsreligionen Judentum, Christentum und Islam in gewisser Hinsicht einseitig: Gott sprach zu den Menschen, erließ Gesetze und verfügte über Strafe und Belohnung, während es hier dem System nach keinen Raum gab für einen individuellen Weg von Mensch zu Gott. Diese Lage hat später z.B. die Bewegung des Sufismus hervorgerufen.

Den Muslimen bereitete das Verhältnis zwischen *ratio* und *revelatio*, wie es im neuplatonischen System zum Vorschein kam, große Schwierigkeiten, und im Islam hat man jeden Versuch, die Priorität der *revelatio*, wie sie im Qur'ân vorlag, in Abrede zu stellen oder irgendwie verdunkeln, immer heftig bekämpft. Da nun sowohl das Judentum als auch das Christentum schon früher ungefähr dieselben Probleme mit dem Neuplatonismus gehabt hatten, konnten die Araber aus einem Studium der Lösungen dieser beiden Religionen Nutzen ziehen, und in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Theorie von der zwischen Platon und Aristoteles bestehenden Harmonie ihnen sehr zustatten gekommen. Zwar konnte auch der Neuplatonismus eine Art von Offenbarung, nämlich eine Art *unio mystica*, die in der Ekstase erreicht werden konnte, dann aber erst als das Ergebnis intellektueller und ethischer Übung. Diese Art von Offenbarung war somit ein durch den Menschen selbst hervorgerufener Zustand und konnte weder vom Christentum noch vom Islam akzeptiert werden.

Wie dem auch sei, das junge Christentum, das gegen die hellenistische Hochkultur noch kämpfende Christentum, hat das Bedürfnis nach einer eigenen spekulativen Theologie, einer Dogmatik, tief empfunden, einer Dogmatik, die man dem hochentwickelten System des Neuplatonismus entgegenhalten konnte. Die kulturelle Zeitlage hat das einfach gefordert, und später hat auch der Islam dem Christentum gegenüber ein ähnliches Bedürfnis empfunden. Was man in solchen Fällen vor allem nötig hatte, waren kurze und bündige Formulierungen von Glaubensinhalten, das heißt Dogmen, arabisch *'aqâ'id*. Damit sind wir zum *Stoizismus* gekommen.

Eben in dem hier in Rede stehenden Zusammenhang haben die Stoiker für uns ein besonderes Interesse, zumal da wir wissen, daß sie als solche den Arabern bekannt gewesen sind, die sie *ar-Riwâqîyûn* benannt haben, eine schon an sich interessante Benennung, die von einem *riwâq* abgeleitet ist, das das griechische στοά »Säulengang« lediglich übersetzt, wobei *rīwâq* nur als ein iranisches Lehnwort ganz verständlich wird, vgl. Pehlevi *ravâg* »Gang«.

Fragen wir so, warum eben die Stoiker für die Dogmengeschichte des Islams von Bedeutung sind, möchte ich – dies im Anschluß an Alexandre Kojève – die folgende, allerdings vorläufige Antwort geben. Der authentische Aristoteles, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, hatte zwar manches festgestellt, das für die Folgezeit als maßgebend übernommen wurde. Bisweilen hatte er (vielleicht) sich aber mehr

in diskursiver Form ausgedrückt, die verschiedentlich interpretiert werden konnte. Die Leistung der Stoiker scheint nun unter anderem *die* gewesen zu sein, den Aristoteles *dogmatisiert* zu haben, und zwar von ihren eigenen Ausgangspunkten aus, dem dialektischen Materialismus, so daß wir durch eine Entdogmatisierung den authentischen Aristoteles bisweilen herstellen oder doch feststellen können, wie die Stoiker den Aristoteles verstanden haben.

Schon im Anfang seiner »Harmonie« erwähnt nun al-Fârâbî die Hauptfrage der islamischen Theologie, die Frage vom *hudûtu lâlami wa-qidamuhu* »die zeitliche Entstehung der Welt und ihre Ewigkeit«, und hier führe ich jetzt den Dialektiker Ibrâhîm an-Nazzâm (gest. in Bagdad um 840) ein. Von ihm wird folgendes erzählt: »Er pflegte zu behaupten, Gott habe die Menschen, das Vieh und die wilden Tiere, die Minerale und Pflanzen auf einmal erschaffen (*xalaqa*), wobei aber die Schöpfung von Adam nicht vor der Schöpfung seiner Nachkommen geschehen sei und die Schöpfung der Mütter nicht vor der Schöpfung ihrer Kinder; Gott habe nämlich einen Teil der Dinge in anderen verborgen (*akmana*), so daß Anteriorität und Posteriorität erst beim Erscheinen der Dinge (*zuhûr*) an ihren verschiedenen Orten zustande gekommen sind, ohne (erst zur Zeit des Erscheinens) erschaffen und hervorgebracht zu sein .... Und trotz seiner Äußerung, Gott habe die Welt (*dunyâ*) auf einmal erschaffen, hat er (an-Nazzâm) behauptet, Gott habe die Wunder (*âyât*) der Propheten erst zu der Zeit geschaffen, als er jene (die Wunder) durch seine Gesandten in die Erscheinung treten liess« (Al-Xayyât, *Kitâb al-Intîşâr*, ed Nyberg, pp. 51–2).

Wie wir sehen, wird hier für »verbergen« das Verbum *akmana* gebraucht, das mit dem Terminus *kumûn* »das Verborgensein« (eines Teils der Schöpfung in einem anderen Teil) zusammengehört. Diese Lehre an-Nazzâms ist den Muslimen besonders anstoßig gewesen. Sie machte ja geltend, Gott habe die existierenden Dinge, so wie sie uns tatsächlich entgegentreten, Metalle, Pflanzen, Tiere und Menschen mit einem Male geschaffen, wobei die Schöpfung Adams der Schöpfung seiner Kinder nicht vorangegangen sei, so daß ein Frühersein und ein Spätersein sich lediglich auf das Hervortreten aus ihren Orten der Verbogenheit (*kumûn*) beziehe, nicht aber auf das Entstehen und die Existenz selber.

Hierzu bemerkt nun der Theologe und Doxograph aš-Šahrastânî (gest. 1153), an-Nazzâm habe diese Lehre denjenigen Philosophen (*falâsifa*) entlehnt, welche das *kumûn* (Verborgensein), und das Hevortreten (*zuhûr*) lehren, wobei er jedoch mehr zu den Ansichten (*madâhib*) der Naturalisten (*tabâ'iyûn*) als zu denen der Metaphysiker (*ilâhiyûn*) neige (*Kitâb al-Milâl wa-nnihal*, ed. Cureton, p. 39).

Was nun zunächst die Auffassung betrifft, an-Nazzâm habe seine Lehre von *kumûn* und *zuhûr* von den sogenannten *Naturalisten* bezogen, den Anhängern der *tabâ'at* »Natur« (zu *tabâ'a* »mit einer Einprägung versehen«, vgl. χαράττω), sollten wir uns auch daran erinnern, daß dem Stoiker die Natur heilig war, und er könne in diesem Sinne auch als ein φυσικός bezeichnet werden. Gott war es, der das Buch der Natur geschrieben hatte, mit Hilfe der γούματα (eig. »Einprägungen«), die dem Stoiker ja auch als die στοιχεῖα »elementa« gelten konnten. Denn die Philosophie, die von Stoikern und Neuplatonikern gepflegt wurde, ist letzten Endes weitgehend nichts anderes als Existenzphilosophie, betrieben als eine Art Sprachphilosophie. So ist es möglich, daß wir unter den häufig genannten »Naturalisten«

bisweilen auch die Stoiker zu verstehen haben. Hierzu kommt nun auch die oben angedeutete Tatsache, daß wir in gewissen Fällen dazu berechtigt sind, die Stoiker als eine Art Neo-Aristoteliker zu betrachten. Es sind namentlich solche Fälle, in denen wir feststellen oder doch vermuten können, die Stoiker hätten einer im Grunde aristotelischen Lehre eine besondere Prägung oder *Formulierung* gegeben. Zu diesen Fällen gehört, so weit ich sehe, die von an-Nazzâm vertretene Lehre vom *kumûn* »das Verborgensein«.

Ich habe schon die von den Arabern übernommene griechische Philosophie auch als eine Existenzphilosophie bezeichnet, und so finden wir in arabischen Schriften häufig den Gegensatz zwischen *al-wuğûd bi lqûwa* »die Existenz durch Kraft« und *al-wuğûd bi lfîl* »die Existenz durch Tat, Handlung« erwähnt, die aus der mittelalterlichen Scholastik so bekannte Opposition zwischen *in potentia* und *in actu*, wobei *potentia* wohl meist durch »Möglichkeit« wiedergegeben wird. Das arabische *qûwat-* »Stärke, Kraft« übersetzt das zunächst aristotelische δύναμις »Vermögen, Kraft, Stärke«. Wenn nun an-Nazzâm den spezifischen Terminus *kumûn* gebraucht, um eine Funktion auszudrücken, die jedoch ohne Zweifel an die Funktion des aristotelischen δύναμις erinnert, wie sich der Gegensatz *zuhûr* auf das aristotelische ἐνέργεια sehr wohl beziehen kann, so bleibt uns nur daran zu erinnern, daß eben das Wort δύναμις bei Poseidonios eine Rolle spielt, die dazu geeignet zu sein scheint, unser *kumûn* als ein stoischer *terminus technicus* erscheinen zu lassen. Nach der Auffassung Karl Reinhardts ist eben δύναμις, das Reinhardt durch »Kraft« übersetzt, den Stoikern ein Grundbegriff gewesen, durch den sie den dynamischen Charakter der Wirklichkeit darstellen, sei sie dann auf der Ebene der physischen Elemente, auf der der organischen Strukturen oder auf dem Niveau der Seele anzutreffen.

Nun sahen wir, daß der schon erwähnte aš-Šahrastânî der Meinung war, an-Nazzâm habe seine Lehre von *kumûn* den »Naturalisten« entlehnt. Aus seiner doxographischen Darstellung über Anaxagoras aus Klazomenai geht hervor, daß seiner Ansicht nach »es dieser war, der als erster die Lehre von *kumûn* und *zuhûr* vorgetragen habe, nämlich, daß alle Dinge im ersten Körper verborgen seien und ihre Existenz nur beim Hervortreten aus diesem ersten Körper vorliege, nach Gattung (*naw'*), Art (*ṣînf*), Maas (*miqdâr*), Gestalt (*šakl*), Dichtheit (*takâṭuf*) und Porosität (*taxalxul*), ganz so wie die Ähre aus dem einzigen Samenkorn (*habba*) erscheine, die hohe Palme aus dem kleinen Kern, der an Form vollkommene Mensch aus dem winzigen Samentropfen, der Vogel aus dem Ei. Und dies alles ist Hervortreten (*zuhûr*) aus Verborgensein (*kumûn*), Handlung/Wirklichkeit (*fîl*) aus Kraft (*qûwat-*) sowie Form (*ṣûrat-*) aus Bereitschaft der Materie (*mâddat-*), und das Hervorbringen ist ein und dasselbe, ohne daß es für eine einzige Sache etwas anderes gegeben habe außer diesem ersten Körper«. (p. 257). Wie wir sehen, steht hier unmittelbar nach an-Nazzâms »zuhûr aus *kumûn*« das aristotelische »*fîl* aus *qûwa*«, was darauf deuten kann, daß es sich um eine spätere doxographische Harmonisierung zweier voneinander verschiedener Lehren handelt, wobei den Ausgangspunkt für diese Harmonisierung die σπέουματα des Anaxagoras (der nach aš-Šahrastânî aus *Mlyâ* stammte) und der λόγος σπέουματικός der Stoiker gebildet haben. Die Vergleichsgrundlage scheint dann lediglich auf dem Wort σπέουμα begründet zu sein, ein Wort, das von den Stoikern sehr wohl aufgegriffen sein

kann, um dann mit einem neuen Wert versehen zu werden. Denn nach den Stoikern sind ja auch die Individuen im voraus bestimmt. In jeder künftigen Weltperiode werden dieselben Personen auftreten wie in der vorhergehenden, z.B. ein Sokrates, eine Xantippe etc., genau so wie sich bis ins Einzelne ganz dieselben Vorgänge abspielen werden. Dazu stimmt nun irgendwie die Behauptung an Nazzâms, daß die Schöpfung Adams der Schöpfung seiner Nachkommen nicht vorangegangen sei. Daher möchte ich den *λόγος σπερματικός* als eine spezifisch stoische Dogmatisierung der doppelten Existenz betrachten, wie diese in der aristotelischen Lehre von dem *wuğûd bi lqûwa* und dem *wuğûd bi lfîl* vorlag, eine Dogmatisierung, die hier in der Opposition *kumûn/zuhûr* ihren technischen Ausdruck gefunden hat. Es würde aber hier zu weit führen, diese Schlußfolgerung näher zu begründen.

Ich greife daher gleich ein anderes Beispiel auf.

Besonders in ihrem Kampf gegen das Christentum wollten die Neuplatoniker ihre Lehre als die Wahrheit *par excellence*, als die wahre Philosophie darstellen. Schon al-Fârâbîs Definition der Philosophie in der oben erwähnten Schrift zeigt uns nun, daß er, genau wie Aristoteles, von dem wirklich Existierenden ausging, wie dieses Existierende nun auch aufzufassen sein mag. So definiert er die Philosophie als *aṭilmu bi lmawğûdâti bi-mâ hiya mawğûdatun*, d.h. »das Wissen von den existierenden Dingen, insofern sie existieren«. Nach dem Buchstaben genommen konnte ja eine derartige Philosophie auch von der islamischen Orthodoxie akzeptiert werden, da sie ja sich einfach auf die natürliche Welt und auf die Menschen in dieser Welt zu beziehen schien. So weit gab es wohl kein Problem.

Nun fährt aber al-Fârâbî unmittelbar in der folgenden Weise fort: »Nun haben diese beiden Weisen (*ḥakîmâni*) die Philosophie begründet und ihre Prinzipien (*awâ'il*) neu aufgestellt sowie ihre Grundsätze (*uṣûl*) und ihre Schlüsse (*awâxir*) und Konsequenzen (*furu'*) vollendet. Auf ihnen beiden beruht somit das Vertrauen im Großen wie im Kleinen, und zu ihnen nimmt man im Wichtigen wie im Unwichtigen seine Zuflucht. Was immer, in allen Wissenschaftszweigen, von den beiden ausgeht, das ist ein Grundsatz (*asîl*), auf dem man sich stützen kann, weil er von jedem Flecken und Schmutz frei ist. So sprechen (*nâṭaqa*) die Zungen und bezeugen (*šahîda*) es die Intellekten, wenn nicht aller, so doch der meisten von denen, die reinen Herzens und lauteren Intellektes sind.«

Die Übereinstimmung zwischen Platon und Aristoteles, die in diesem Abschnitt dargestellt wird, beruht, wie wir verstehen, auf der schon erwähnten Harmonisierung, die al-Fârâbî in gutem Glauben übernommen hat. Das ließe sich sogar bis ins Einzelne anhand einer Untersuchung der hier benutzten Terminologie beweisen. Hier möchte ich nur einige Züge mit leichter Hand anstreifen. Wenn al-Fârâbî von dieser Harmonie sagt, daß »die Zungen sprechen davon und die Intellekten legen davon Zeugnis ab«, kommt das uns nunmehr lediglich als eine Stilblume vor, als eine Art Hendiadys in rein stilistischem Sinne. Das arabische *nâṭaqa* bedeutet nun aber »die Rede artikulieren« und nimmt somit zunächst auf die Aussprache der Rede Bezug. Was in der Rede artikuliert wird, ist nun auch etwas anderes als etwas bloß Phonetisches, nämlich eben *Rede* – als Gedankeninhalt. So bezeichnet Diogenes von Babylon (um 240–152 v. Chr.), der Schüler Chrysipps, die menschliche Stimme als eine φωνὴ ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπούμενη »ein artikulierter

und vom Gedanken ausgesandter Laut«, vgl. Living Waters, Festschrift Frede Løkkegaard (1990), p. 336. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen hält die Stoia daran fest, daß die artikulierte Rede nur dem Menschen zukomme, nicht aber den Tieren, und so definiert der Araber den Menschen als ein *hayawân nātiq* »ein redendes Tier«, vgl. Orientalia Suecana 36–37/1989, p. 61 und p. 83.

Es unterliegt nun keinem Zweifel, daß dieser Ausdruck mit dem griechischen ζῶον λογικόν identisch ist. Da aber λόγος »Rede«, »Rechnung« und »Vernunft« bedeutet, kann es dem Araber nicht so ganz leicht gefallen sein, diesen Ausdruck sinngemäß zu übersetzen. Wie wir sahen, bedeutet nun das arabische *nāṭaqâ* »artikulieren« und zwar hier den λόγος προφορικός hervorbringen, der gewissermaßen nur als ein Spiegelbild der artikulierten διάνοια, der inneren Rede sozusagen (Festschrift Løkkegaard, p. 327) bezeichnet werden kann. So scheint das partizipiale Adjektiv *nātiq* auch die volle Rede im stoischen Sinne bezeichnet zu haben, d.h. auch den λόγος ἐνδιάθετος

In diesem Zusammenhang sei mir anläßlich des Wortes ζῶον erlaubt, an eine merkwürdige Angabe von dem hier schon erwähnten aš-Šahrastânî zu erinnern (auch dies im Anschluß an S. Horovitz), nämlich die Behauptung, der wohlbekannte Literat 'Amr Ibn Bahr al-Ğâhîz (gest. 868) habe gesagt, der Qur'ân sei ein Körper (*ğasad*) und verwandle sich zuweilen in einen Mann, zuweilen in ein Tier. Das klingt ja ganz absurd. Gleichfalls von aš-Šahrastânî wird nun aber al-Ğâhîz auch als Anhänger der »Naturalisten« bezeichnet, unter denen wir ja, wie gesagt, auch die Stoiker verstehen können. In dem vorliegenden Fall sind wir zu einer derartigen Interpretation desto eher berechtigt, als diese auch behauptet haben, die Wahrheit sei ein Körper sowie auch sämtliche Tätigkeiten, wie das Gehen, Tanzen usw. Dieser sonderbare Zug von »Körperlichkeit« ist letzten Endes in dem prinzipiellen Materialismus der Stoiker begründet. Demzufolge gibt es für sie keine Tätigkeiten an und für sich, sondern nur tätige Körper. Weiterhin gab es für sie keine Wahrheit im abstrakten Sinn, sondern nur im Sinne eines Wissens als eines Zustands des Geistes, und so konnten sie, von ihrer Grundauffassung aus, auch die Wahrheit als einen Körper, als ein ζῶον bezeichnen. Dem jetzt Ausgeführten gegenüber erscheint somit die referierte Ansicht des Ğâhîz als reiner Stoizismus.

Im Arabischen hat das griechische Wort λόγος die Anregung zur Bildung von zwei Wörtern gegeben, nämlich *kalâm* und *manṭiq*, von welchen das erste »Rede«, »Sprache« und »Satz«, in der Theologie auch »Lehrsatz, Dogma« bedeutet, während das andere den Sinn von »Rede«, »Sprache« und »Logik« hat. Dabei ist nun *manṭiq* ein Verbalnomen von *nāṭaqâ* »reden«, von dem schon gesagt wurde, es bezeichne eigentlich das Artikulieren. Während der weitere Bedeutungswandel von *kalâm* »Dogma« zu »Dogmatik«, »Theologie« sowie derjenige von *mutakallimûn* »die (miteinander) Redenden« zu »Dialektikern«, »Theologen« ziemlich leicht verständlich sind, leuchtet die semantische Entwicklung von *manṭiq* »Rede, Sprache« zu »Logik« nicht unmittelbar ein. Gehen wir aber von *manṭiq* im Sinne von einem »Artikulieren« aus, sehen wir gleich ein, daß man nicht nur ein Wort in seine Bestandteile, Laute und Buchstaben, zerlegen konnte, sondern auch die Rede in ihre Bestandteile, d.h. in Sätze nach ihrer *logischen* Valeur, so daß man eine Art Kalkulation (λογισμός) erhielt, die dann einen συλλογισμός konstituierte.

Auf diesem Wege hat also *mantiq* »artikulierte Rede« die Bedeutung »Logik« annehmen können.

Was dann schließlich der schon erwähnte Ausdruck *mutakallimūn* für »Theologen« anbelangt, bleibt hier einerseits zu bemerken, daß in der arabischen Nationalgrammatik der Singular *mutakallim* die erste Person Singular bezeichnet, andererseits aber, daß nach Sextus Empiricus die Stoiker auch »die Dialektiker« schlechtweg genannt werden, so daß wir also dazu berechtigt sind, sie »dialektische Materialisten« zu benennen, eine eben in diesen Tagen bemerkenswerte Tatsache. Vor allem aber, wenn die islamischen Theologen *mutakallimūn* genannt werden, d.h. »Dialektiker«, was zunächst für die *Mu'tazila* passend wäre, ist dies wohl ein terminologischer Stoizismus, der später vermutlich lieber mit *kalām* »Theologie« assoziiert wurde.

Sehr umstritten ist schließlich auch die exakte Bedeutung des Wortes *harf* in dem Kapitel, das die erste arabische Nationalgrammatik einleitet, von dem Perser Sibawayh (gest. 786) verfaßt: »Dies ist das Kapitel, worin man erfährt, 'was' die Wörter der arabischen Sprache sind. Die Wörter sind ein Name und eine Handlung und ein *harf*, welches für eine Bedeutung hinzukommt und weder ein Name noch eine Handlung ist.« In der arabischen Sprachwissenschaft bedeutet *harf* etwa »Konsonant« im Sinne von στοιχεῖον »Element«, von dem es eine Art Leh-nübersetzung darstellt, vgl. Verf., Uppsala Newsletter. History of Science, Vol 3:1/1986, p. 7. Nach Sibawayh gibt es in der arabischen Sprache drei Wortarten im Sinne von Redeteilen. Die minimale Rede, d.h. der Satz, besteht aus drei Elementen, nämlich »Name«, »Handlung« und ein Element, das weder ein Name noch eine Handlung ist. Aber was ist es denn?

Diese Art Sibawayhs, den Satz zu definieren hat tatsächlich etwas Stoisches. Ich habe schon von der durch den Materialismus bedingten »Körperlichkeit« der stoischen Grundkonzeption gesprochen. Stellten die Stoiker sich nun den Satz als einen Körper vor, könnten sie »Name« und »Handlung« als die beiden Körperteile des Satzes betrachtet haben, während sich das *harf* als ein Körperteil in diesem Sinn gar nicht betrachten ließ, sondern nur als ein Verbindungsglied zwischen den beiden Körperteilen. Wie dem auch sei, die Formulierung *wa-harfun*, گَدَا لِيْمَانَ kann sehr wohl die schwer greifbare Funktion des *harf* als einer Art συμπλοκή andeuten: das »mehr« des Satzes, das, was »Name« und »Handlung« zu einem Satz macht, vgl. Verf. in »Från fornyrdslag till fri vers« (Centrum för metriska studier 1/1989, p. 42). Das *harf* ist somit hier eine Art δεσμός.

So vereinigt das Element *harf* in sich auch sowohl die Idee des σύνδεσμος »Konjunktion« als auch die des ἄρθρον »Artikel«, hinter welchen das platonische μεταξύ und das aristotelische μέσον noch durchschimmern, Termini, die in der stoischen Philosophie der Körperlichkeit gerne als δεσμός »Band« erscheinen.

Bei Nemesios von Emesa finden wir die vier empedokleischen Elemente in der Ordnung *Erde*, *Wasser*, *Luft* und *Feuer*. Wie können sich nun diese Elemente, welche Nemesios die »kosmischen« nennt, miteinander vereinigen? Die Luft ist von den Qualitäten *Warm-feucht* zusammengesetzt. Sie kann nun zu einer Vereinigung mit der Syzygie des Feuers Anlaß geben, und zwar deswegen, weil sich das Feuer als eine andere Syzygie, als etwas Zusammengesetztes, als eine Verbindung von den Qualitäten *varm-trocken* analysieren läßt. Beide Elemente enthalten somit

die Qualität *warm*. Nun besteht aber das Element des Wassers auch aus der Qualität *feucht*, genau wie die Luft. Betrachten wir so den elementaren Gegensatz *Wasser/Feuer*, läßt sich eine Vermittlung zwischen den gegensätzlichen Gliedern, dem Wasser und dem Feuer, dadurch herstellen, daß zwischen den beiden das Element der Luft eingeschaltet wird, und zwar als ein Bindeglied, ein σύνδεσμος, eine *con junctio: Wasser-Luft-Feuer*, in welcher Struktur die Luft die Funktion eines δεσμος bekommen hat und jetzt als σύνδεσμος wirkt. Dabei müssen wir bedenken, daß auch die Qualität, ποιότης, den Stoikern als ein Körper gilt.

Damit habe ich einige Beispiele herausgegriffen, die mir dazu besonders angebracht zu sein scheinen, die Bedeutung des *Arabischen* für die weitere Erforschung des Stoizismus zu illustrieren. Das hängt natürlich damit zusammen, daß das griechische Material so fragmentarisch ist, während das lateinische Material, wie es z.B. bei Cicero und Seneca vorliegt, auf einer spezifischen Rezeption beruht, die weitgehend von der *Praktik* des Stoizismus ausgegangen ist und nicht immer die wahrhaftig systematische Kohärenz der stoischen Philosophie in genügender Weise beherzigt hat.

Überblicken wir so eine Zeitspanne etwa von Etienne Vacherot bis zu Alexandre Kojève, finden wir, daß auf dem Gebiete der Stoiker-Forschung sehr viel geleistet worden ist – wer kann z.B. Max Pohlenz je vergessen! Vacherot galten zwar die Stoiker als die letzten Systematiker, aber als eine Art Hegelianer konnte er ihren Materialismus in keiner Weise dulden. Dem genialen Kojève (gest. 1968) war der Stoizismus hauptsächlich ein »Aristote dogmatisé«, eine Art Neo-Aristotelismus. Ich kann hier nicht auf die Frage nach dem wahren Sinn der stoischen Philosophie eingehen, sondern stelle nur fest, daß das wirklich Signifikative in dieser Philosophie ohne die Hilfe arabischer Quellen kaum gänzlich ins Reine gebracht werden kann.

# Alexander Outwitted by the Amazons

GERHARD SVEDLUND, Stockholm

The story of the study of the Galilean dialect, the language of the Master from Galilee, is a very peculiar one, perhaps even unique.

The Grammar of G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, appeared in 1905. W. B. Stevenson's *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* was published in 1924, and H. Odeberg's, *A Short Grammar of Galilean Aramaic*, which also contained a syntax, in 1939.

Although the three grammars were widely used, as was also the extensive critical edition of *Bereshit Rabba* with Notes and Commentary by Theodor-Albeck, there was a growing feeling among the scholars interested in Galilean Aramaic that the text material which had been used as a basis by the grammarians mentioned above, had not been investigated according to the usual procedures for language research, the establishment of a correct text with due consideration given to the historical sequence and the development of other Western Aramaic dialects (see for instance Kutscher, 1952, p. 3, H. L. Ginsberg, 1934, p. 383, S. Lieberman, 1932, p. 456: n 3).

Kutscher exhibits (1952, p. 9 ff) sufficient evidence to prove the very poor reliability of the Galilean text material used by Dalman, Stevenson and Odeberg for their grammars. It would not be totally untrue to say that with regard to Galilean Aramaic, the grammars were based on a dialect that had never existed as a language. The reason was that from sometime during the later part of the first millennium and until the printing began around 1445, the Jewish European copyists, familiar with the Eastern Aramaic of the Bab. Talmud, continuously changed the structure, spelling, forms and endings of the Galilean dialect in the MSS they were copying. The intention was to "correct" it and make it look like the Aramaic dialect they knew and believed to be the correct one, namely the Babylonian Aramaic. Consequently they would add a determinating ā to a word in status indeterminatus, a final ā, mostly indicated by hē in the Galilean dialect, would be altered to alef, final nūn of verbal forms, of place names, of the conditional 'yn would be apocopated, the conjunction kd became ky, tryyhw "both of them" was spelled trwwyhw, pym "mouth" was changed into pwm.

The construction mn + participle which served as a predicative in the Galilean dialect, and in other Western Aramaic dialects as well, was not understood and therefore altered in various ways, mn would become mh "what" or an independent my "who", at other times it was changed to mn "who". This construction confused not only the copyists but also Dalman (see "Dialektproben. p 26,6 mny, vocalized by Dalman manñī, a corruption of mynpq "while leaving").

The important work of Kutscher "Studies in Galilean Aramaic" (Hebrew) has led to a better understanding of several of the problems connected with Galilean Aramaic. The Galilean text material published by Kutscher (An Aramaic Handbook, PLO, 1967, I/1 pp. 51–70), the discovery of a complete copy of the Pal-

estinian Targum (Targum Neophyti I), the analysis of the outstanding MS Vat. Ebr. 30 to Bereshit Rabba by L. Barth and the numerous editions of the Aramaic portions of the Geniza fragments, all give us reason to believe that a more distinct comprehension of the Galilean dialect will be reached in the near future.

The story of Alexander meeting King Kašia,\* ruler of a country situated behind the “Dark” mountains, appears in many versions. Fortunately, there is a version of this Alexander legend among the Geniza findings (see Kahle, 1959, and 1958, pp. 100 ff.). The version appears in “Fragments of Wayyikra Rabbah from the Geniza” edited by M. Margulies, Jerusalem 1960, p. 82 f. Considering the fact that this Geniza fragment cannot have been manipulated by European copyists, it is of interest to compare its readings with the readings of the same version “König Alexander in Afrika”, Midrasch Vajjikra Rabba nach Add 27169 (A), G. Dalman, Aramäische Dialektproben, Darmstadt 1960 (reprint), a MS from the 13th century.

There was no doubt a serious break in the transmission of traditions as a result of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. After this date we know that academies were set up. From then on traditions were again handed down, both orally and in writing, until they were redacted. With regard to Bereshit Rabba and Wayyiqra Rabba, it seems they were edited in Palestine in the fifth and sixth centuries. Consequently we have a fragment of the Alexander story copied towards the end of the first millennium and a manuscript copied several hundred years later of the same story.

The Geniza fragment = G. Addit. 27169 = DP. (Restorations within brackets by Margulies).

'lksndr(ws)<sup>1</sup> 'z'l gby<sup>2</sup> ml(kh) qsyhh<sup>3</sup> lhwry hry hwšk 'l<sup>4</sup> lhđ  
 mdynh<sup>5</sup> wšmh qrtgynh<sup>6</sup> hwwt<sup>7</sup> kwlh<sup>8</sup> nšym<sup>9</sup> npqyn<sup>10</sup> qdmwnyh<sup>11</sup> w'mrn<sup>12</sup>  
 'yn 't 'byd 'mn qrb<sup>13</sup> wnsh<sup>14</sup> ln šmk npq b'lm<sup>15</sup> md(ynt)<sup>16</sup> dnšy  
 hrbt w'yn 'nn 'bdynn<sup>17</sup> 'mk qrb<sup>18</sup> wnshyn<sup>19</sup> lk<sup>19</sup> lyt 't<sup>20</sup> qyym qwdm  
 m(lkw) mh 'bd 'myk 'pwy<sup>21</sup> wnpq lyh<sup>22</sup> mynpq<sup>23</sup> ktb 'l tr'pyly<sup>24</sup>  
 w'mr 'nh 'lksndrw(s) mlk šty<sup>25</sup> hwyn<sup>26</sup> 'd<sup>27</sup> d'lyt<sup>28</sup> lqstgn' mdynth<sup>29</sup>  
 wylpty 'y<sup>30</sup> mn nšyyh ('l) lmdyn' hwyry<sup>30</sup> wšmh 'pryqy wnpqwn<sup>31</sup>  
 qd(mw)nyh bhywry<sup>32</sup> ddhb wbrymwn<sup>33</sup> dd(hb) wblhm ddhb 'm<sup>1</sup>  
 lhwn mh dhbh mt' kl gbkwn b'r'kwn<sup>34</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh dl' h(wh lk) kn<sup>35</sup>  
 b'r'k 'tyt<sup>36</sup> lk lgbn 'm<sup>1</sup> lwn<sup>37</sup> 'trykwn<sup>38</sup> ('t)yt<sup>39</sup> lmhmy<sup>40</sup> 'p  
 dn(y)kwn 'tyt) lmhmy<sup>41</sup> 'd d'ynwn<sup>42</sup> ytbny tmn 'twn tryn gb(ryn)  
 ldynh qdm mlkh<sup>43</sup> hd 'mr 'n' hwrh zbnyt mn hdn gwbr<sup>44</sup> wgrpty<sup>45</sup>  
 (w)'škhyt bh<sup>46</sup> sym' 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh<sup>47</sup> sb symt<sup>48</sup> hrhzbnt sym' l  
 zbnr whrn<sup>1</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> 'n' kd zbynt lhdn hrhzbnt<sup>48</sup> lhdn gbr' kl mh  
 d' yt bh zbnr lyh<sup>49</sup> (q)r' mlk' lhđ mynhwn 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh 'y(t) lk  
 br dkr 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh 'yn qr' lhwrn<sup>1</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> ly(h) 'yt lk brt<sup>50</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh  
 'yn 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh yswn dyn ldyn<sup>51</sup> wy<sup>52</sup> klwn symt' tryhwn<sup>52</sup> (š)ry 'lksndrw(s)  
 mlkh tmh<sup>53</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh mh lk 'ytmh<sup>54</sup> l' dnyt t'bw<sup>55</sup> 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh 'yn  
 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh ('y)lw<sup>56</sup> hwwt hdyn dyn' b'r'kwn hyk hwytwn dyynyn lyh<sup>57</sup>  
 'm<sup>1</sup> lyh hwynh (mr)ymyn<sup>58</sup> r'syh

\* Perhaps the king Kašia appearing in numerous encyclopedic works never existed, and that the meaning is “the king of the country at the end of the world”, cf. qš, qyš “end”.

## NOTES

1. Alexander, one of the greatest leaders and generals of all time. A whole literature of romance grew up about him. To him must be credited the spread of Hellenism and profound changes in the Near and the Middle East (see Lieberman, 1942). He early passed into legend.
2. DP *lgby* which equals *gby*. The sing. form is frequently used with sing. suffixed pronouns and the plur. form with plur. suffixed pronouns, but there are exceptions, e.g. *lgby rbynw*.
3. DP *qsy'*. The European copyists frequently changed the indicator for final *ā* from *hē* to alef under the influence of the Bab. Talmud and TO. Out of 16 final *ā* indicated by *hē* in G there remain 4 in the later MS of DP. *hry ḥwšk* (H.), cf Jastrow, pp. 365, 511 "Dark Mountains".
4. DP *'z'l*. The text of G "Alexander went to ... (and) came to ... seems better from a linguistic point of view.
5. Both MSS show *mdynh*, in most later versions and printed editions "corrected" to *mdynt*. It was generally believed (cf. Dalman, Gr. pp. 121 and 188) that the determinate state had lost its force in Galilean Aramaic just as in the Eastern Aramaic dialects. But as Lieberman (1932, p. 456) and Kutscher (1952, p. 7) have shown, even in the common speech of Palestine the distinction between the absolute and the emphatic states was maintained.
6. DP *qrtgynh* (both the spelling with *t* and *t* occur), the town Carthage. *Qartigna* or *Qartagene*, derived by folk-etymology from Aramaic *qarta* "town" and Greek *gúnē* "woman".
7. DP *whwt*. Plene spelling with *wāw* and alef occurs frequently in reliable Galilean texts. (For reliable texts, see Kutscher 1952, p. 4).
8. DP *klh*. Regarding the spelling with *wāw*, see Kutscher 1957, p. 26. It is interesting to note that in the Targums plene spellings indicate an earlier unvocalised period, cf. Doubles (1968, p. 88).
9. DP *dnšyn*, a reading employed in most later versions including printed editions. The spelling with *m* here could be due to Hebrew influence or the fact that in Galilean Aramaic in certain circumstances *mēm* was pronounced like *nūn* (see Kutscher, 1972, p. 2). On the other hand we know that there was a phonetic change *m > n* that spread from Palmyra to Gaza as shown by inscriptions, place names, and Galilean texts, and perhaps also in the language of the Koran and in today's spoken Arabic, cf. Kutscher 1952, p. 38 ff.
10. Dalman writes about the perfect (Gr. p. 255) "Die 3 Pers. Plur. fem. hat im galil. Dialekt die Endung *ān*". As a result of this mistake of Dalman, he vocalizes the word as a part. masc. plur. The correct form here is 3rd pers. fem. plural perfect, ending in *-ēn*, see Enc. Jud. II, col. 272.
11. One would expect *wnpqyn qdmnyh w'mryn*. Regarding the numerous spellings of *qdmwy*, cf. Dalman, Gr., p. 230, Kutscher 1952, p. 23 f.
12. See note 10. The same confusion occurs. Dalman vocalizes a fem. plur. perfect as a part. masc. plur. G employs a fem. part. plur.
13. DP *qrb'*, see note 5.
14. DP *wnšht*, a case of the likely or possible condition introduced by *'yn*, with part. act. in the Protasis and the perfect in the Apodosis. G apparently employs a part. both in the Protasis and the Apodosis.
15. DP *dmhwz' dnšy'*. One would expect *dmhwz*. The unfortunate restoration *md(ynt')* by Margulies is based on other (later) MSS.
16. A case of the part. with suffixed pronoun, cf. Dalman, Gr. 290.
17. DP *qrb'*, see note 5.
18. The part. with suffixed pronoun had only a common masc. fem. form. Consequently *wnshyn* here equals *wnshynn* due to the preceding *'bdynn*.
19. A sentence missing in G. "Your name will go out in the world (and it will be said) that you made war against women and they defeated you".
20. DP *wtwb l' t* "and you will never again be able to ..."
21. DP *bhhy' 'nt' pk' pwy* "in that moment his countenance fell". G employs *'myk*, afel of *mwk*.
22. G *wnpq lyh* "and he left".
23. *mynpq* equals *mn* + the participle, see Kutscher 1952, p. 51 ff. DP *mny* is a corruption of *mn npq > mynpq* which often was changed in various ways by the copyists as they did not understand the construction.

24. Apparently from Greek *pýlē* (preceded by *tr'* “entrance, gate of a town”). However, there is an Aramaic word *pil*, *pilā* (Akkadian *pīru*) giving the meaning “at the elephant gate”. In Galilean Aramaic we find a large number of borrowings from Greek, e.g. *lystm* “robber”, *'yprkyh* “prefect”, *mwrws* “stupid”, *'rn̄tw̄s* “decoration”, *'wyrh* “air, weather”, *tymy* “price”. There are also Latin words that came into Galilean Aramaic via Greek, such as *lygwyn* “legion”, *'rnwnh* “tax, duty” (to supply grain to the Roman troops) also spelled *annonna* (berürungsdissimilation, see Růžička, p. 66). *mhwz* (note 15), see Svedlund, 1974, App IV.
25. DP *kmlk šty* “(I have been) like a foolish king”.
26. Equals *hwy 'nh*, cf. Jastrow, p. 338.
27. ‘d d... “until the moment when (I came to ...)”.
28. DP *d'ylyt*. It is true that *verba geminata* employ on the analogy of *verba mediae wāw* forms like *'yyl*, *gyyl*, etc. The problem with Dalman’s *pael* vocalization here is that *pael* has the meaning “come habitually or frequently”, which cannot possibly be correct here. G reads *d'lyt*, the expected form.
29. “to the town of Carthage”. G spelling mistake. DP “called Carthage”.
30. DP *'hry* which equals *hwry* “another”.
31. The same type of construction as the one we found in the beginning of the first part of the story. Still, Dalman did not realize the inconsistency between his vocalization of the first occurrence as a participle and the second as the perfect.
32. DP reads correctly *bhwry*. There was however, a word *hywry* (the name of a wine of inferior quality), but the following *ddhb* shows that *hwry* is the right word.
33. One would expect *rmwnyn* (= DP).
34. “What? Is gold eaten in your country?” DP “Is this what is eaten in your country?”
35. Dalman apparently misunderstood the word *k'n* (vocalized as “here”). *kn*, *kyn* appears frequently meaning “so, like that”, e.g. *w'yn kyn* “but if this be so”, *kyn hy > kyny* “it is so”. The Hebrew expression *k'n* (see Segal, Gr. p. 136) is sometimes rendered in Aramaic by *kyn*, for instance *mk'n w'ylk* “from now on” in Galilean Aramaic *mbkyn whlh*. The reading *k'n* in DP could be a phenomenon analogous to the Syr. *k'yn* (*kēn*, *kīn*), see Brockelmann, Syr. Gr., p. 7).
36. Also spelled *'tyt*, *'tt*.
37. Equals *lhwn*.
38. Error for *wtrykwn* (DP *'trkw*).
39. The word *l* is missing: *l' 'tyt*.
40. Concerning the infinitive, the reliable texts indicate (contrary to Dalman, Gr., p. 279) that the form was *mqtwl* only, and that even in unvocalized texts when no *wāw* was written, the pronunciation was *mqtwl* (ō). Here we have *l'mihmē* (*verba tertiae alef*).
41. “I only came to see your administration of the law”.
42. ‘d d... functions here as a predicative like *mn* + participle. “While they were sitting there ...”
43. “Two men came before the king for judgement”. DP *'ytwn* “cause to come” (afel).
44. Both *hwrbh* and *gwbr* show the peculiarity of Galilean Aramaic, the vowels o and u induced, the first by the influence of r, the second by the influence of a labial (see Svedlund, 1974, p. 31).
45. Equals *wgrpyth* “and I cleaned it”. DP *hpryt* “I dug”.
46. “in it”. DP *bgwh* “inside it”.
47. *W'mryt lyh* “and I told him”.
48. Both MSS show the correct use of the determinate state “I have sold the ruin to this man” (pael).
49. “All that is in it I sold to him”. DP “it, and all that is in it, I sold to him”.
50. Error for *brt* (both MSS).
51. “Marry them to each other”. *nsb* corresponds to *ns'*, *nsb* “marry”, afel “give in marriage”.
52. Both MSS show the correct Galilean spelling as opposed to the Eastern *trwwyh*, frequently appearing in corrupt Galilean texts.
53. Equals the reading of DP (*tmyh*). “Alexander sat astonished”.
54. One would expect *mytmh*. DP reads correctly *tmyh*.
55. “Did I not judge well?”
56. Corresponds to Hebrew *'n lw*. “If this case had happened in your country, how would you have decided it?”
57. A confusion between *hwynh mrym* and *hwynn mrymyn* (cf. DP).

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# A Persian Astrolabe from A. H. 1187/A. D. 1773–74

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In the 1930's the well-known Swedish archaeologist Professor T. Arne bought two astrolabes in Persia. One of them now belongs to the Royal Swedish Academy of Science, Stockholm. The other one was in Lund in 1936 when it was examined and photographed by the architect to the Cathedral in Lund, Th. Wåhlin<sup>1</sup>. It then belonged to the "Kooperativa Förbundet" (the Swedish Cooperative Association). After having been in Lund it disappeared, but thanks to Wåhlin's photographs it could be described by Mayer<sup>2</sup>, who remarks "present owner unknown", whereas it was registered by Price<sup>3</sup> as belonging to the Building Office of the Cathedral in Lund.

My enquiries after the astrolabe in Lund in 1977 and with the "Kooperativa Förbundet" in Stockholm in 1983 were of no avail. Then, unexpectedly, in 1986, a newspaper notice informed me that the astrolabe had been donated by a private person to the "Sjöhistoriska Museet" (Museum of Naval History) in Stockholm (Inv. No. 25.456).

My description of this former "Lund astrolabe" follows the general description of the Islamic astrolabe by Hartner<sup>4</sup>.

1. a) [Fig. 1–2] The *kursī* is decorated with a cartouche containing the appropriate words *wasi'a kursiyahu s-samawāti wal-arḍa* "His throne comprises the heavens and earth" (Arberry's translation<sup>5</sup>) from the famous "Throne verse", Sūra 2:256. On the back there is a decorative foliage.

b) – c) [Fig. 1–2] Handle and ring as usual.

d) [Fig. 9] Through the ring runs a woven silk ribbon, length 1,4 m without tassels, width 2 cm, with inscriptions, here numbered 1–13 beginning with the one nearest to the knot of the ribbon, Nos. 1, 2 and 8–13 being in Persian<sup>6</sup>, the other ones in Arabic: 1) *Mubārak bād* "May it be blessed", 2) *id.*, 3) *nādī 'Alīyan mužhir al-'aġā'ib* "invoke 'Alī who does wonder", 4) *taġidhu 'awnan laka fi n-nawā'ib* "and you will find him a help for you in adversities", 5) *kull hamm wa-ġamm sa-yaġlī bi-'ażamatika, yā* "every care and sorrow will disclose your majesty, o", 6) *Allāh, bi-nubūwatika, yā Muḥammad, bi-wilāyatika, yā 'Alī* "God, your prophethood, o Muḥammad, your holiness, o 'Alī", 7) *mā šā' Allāh, lā ḥawla wa-lā qūwata illā bi-llāh al-'alī al-'aẓīm* "whatever God intend, there is no power and no strength save in God, the High, the Great", 8) *naqš-e īn āyin be-mānad sālhā* "the embroidery of this decoration will remain for years", 9) *zamānī hāk dar uftāde ġāhī* "for some time the exalted will be fallen in the dust", 10) *magar sāheb-delī rūzī be-raḥmat* "but one day a pious man in compassion", 11) *kunad dar haqq-e darwīšān du'ā'i* "will offer a prayer for the poor", 12) *mubārak bād* "may it be blessed", 13) *mubārak bād 1313 (?)* "may it be blessed 1895/96(?)".

A similar woven silk ribbon belongs to the other astrolabe purchased by Profes-

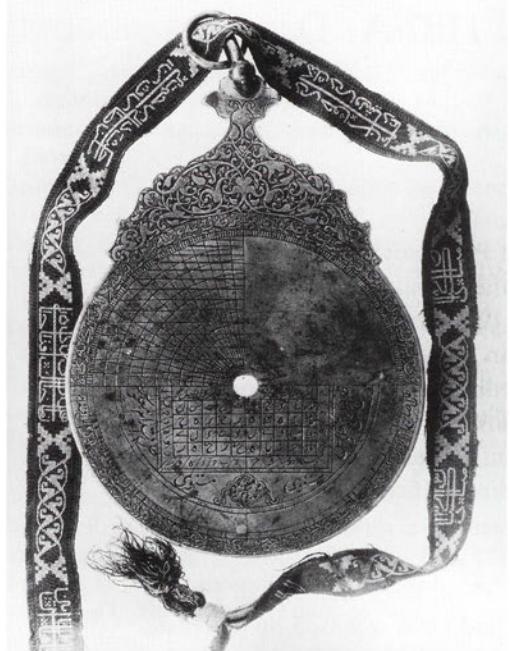


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

sor Arne (the one in the Royal Academy of Science) – otherwise astrolabes with preserved cords are seldom met with, Gunther<sup>7</sup>) mentioning only 8 such astrolabes.

2. a) [Fig. 1] The outer rim is graduated from  $0^\circ$  to  $360^\circ$ , each degree being marked



Fig. 9.

by a stroke at the innermost part of the rim. Every fifth degree is marked by a small circle over the stroke. The outer part of the rim is divided into 24 fields, each one corresponding to 15 degrees and marked by *abḡad*-letters 5–10–15, 20–25–30 etc., clockwise from 12 o'clock (S), beginning again after 100 with 5–10–15 etc., and likewise after 200 and 300, 100, 200 and 300 also being marked by *abḡad*-letters.

The *umm* contains eight circular bands, here numbered from the outermost inwards I–VIII. I has no inscriptions. II–VII are divided by 24 radii resulting in  $6 \times 24$  fields. The 6 fields to the left of the *mumsika* (S) contain the captions of the six bands: II *al-bilād* “the towns”, III *aṭwāl* “longitudes” (reckoned from the Eternal Islands, the Canaries, “from which Ptolemy began the determination of geographical longitude”<sup>7</sup>), IV *‘urūd* “latitudes” (from the equator<sup>8</sup>), V *inḥirāfāt* “inclinations” (the arc of the horizon between the meridian of the town and a vertical circle passing through the zenith of the town and that of Mecca<sup>9</sup>), VI *ğihāt* “directions” (towards Mecca), VII *bu’duhā* “their distance” = from Mecca). VIII has as only inscription *bil-farāsiḥ* “in *farsaḥīs*” (one *farsaḥī* being 5,985 km<sup>10</sup>), in continuation of the caption in VII. Longitude, latitude and inclination are given in *abḡad*-letters, the direction is abbreviated as *ḡḡ* (*ḡarbīya ḡanūbīya*) “W” or *ṣṣ* (*ṣarqīya ḡanūbīya*) “ES”, and the distance is given in numerals.

The towns with these data are clockwise from the captions:

	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
1.	Rayy	86 20	35 0	38 27	WS	353	
2.	Mawṣil	77 20	34 30	0 40	WS	281	
3.	Nah̄ūwān	81 15	28 40	12 55	WS	39(0)	
4.	al-Marāgā	82	37 20	16 17	WS	360	
5.	Tabrīz	82	38 20	15 39	WS	383	
6.	Ardabil	82 30	38	57 18	WS	421	
7.	Baṣra	84	30	37 51	WS	314	
8.	Širāz	88	29 26	33 33	WS	285	
9.	Yazd	89	32	43 33	WS	343	
10.	Hamadān	83	35 10	22 16	WS	325	
11.	Makka	77 10	21 40	0	0	0	
12.	Kāšān	86	34	34 33	WS	331	
13.	Isfahān	86 40	32 35	40 31	WS	34(0)	
14.	Kūfa	79 30	31 30	21	WS	144 (?)	
15.	Baḡdād	82	33 25	21 13	WS	283	
16.	Samnān	88 5	36	36 17	WS	389	
17.	Bistām	89 30	36 10	40 32	WS	403	
18.	Širwān	91 30	35 5	44 3(?)	WS	438	
19.	Madīna	75 20	25	37 10	ES	86	
20.	Tūs	92 30	37	45 4	WS	46(0)	
21.	Harāt	94 20	34 30	50 26	WS	473	
22.	Qandahār	84 40	33	71 44	WS	603	
23.	Qazwīn	85	36	27 34	WS	352	
							{ 84 (fd) 40 probably wrong for 107 (qz) 40

The names Baṣra and Madīna without article and the spelling Isfahān (Arabic Isbāhān) make it probable that the astrolabe is a Persian one.



Fig. 3.

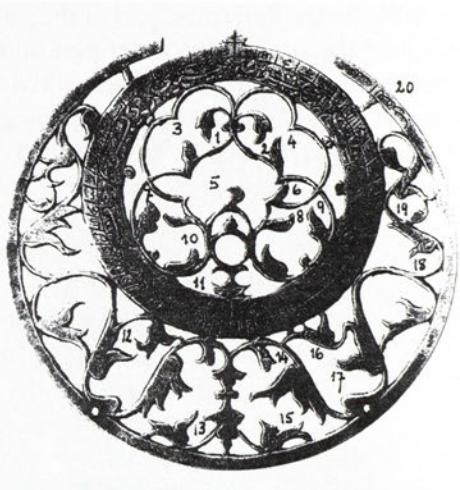


Fig. 4.

Note to 5: The inscription has Nayrīz, but Nayrīz is, according to Yāqūt<sup>10</sup>, near Širāz, whereas Tabrīz is near al-Marāgā and better fits in with the data given.

2. b) [Fig. 2] The *zahr* is divided into quadrants. The outer rim of quadrants I and II is each divided from  $0^\circ$  to  $90^\circ$  beginning from E and W. As on the front every 5th degree is marked by a small circle. Above every 5th degree are the corresponding *abḡad*-numbers 5–10–15 etc. ending with 90 at both sides of S.

Quadrant I is divided by radii from every 5th degree and by horizontal lines from the same points as the radii. Quadrant II is empty.

Quadrants III and IV contain the shadow squares surrounded by four semi-circular bands, leaving spaces to the left and right and below the squares. To the left of the squares is engraved *zill aqdām ma'kūs* “umbra versa of /the gnomon reckoned in/ feet”, and to the right *zill aşābi' ma'kūs* “umbra versa of /the gnomon reckoned in/ fingers”.

The space below the squares is divided into two by a cartouche. To the left and right of the cartouche is engraved the word *mustawī*, meaning *zill aqdām mustawī* “umbra recta of /the gnomon reckoned in/ feet” and *zill aşābi' mustawī* “umbra recta of /the gnomon reckoned in/ fingers”, respectively. The cartouche is inscribed 1187 ṣan'at Muḥammad Hāsim Narāfi(?) “1187/1773–74 the work of M. H. N.”.

To the left, below and to the right of the squares runs a band divided into sections numbered in *abḡad* numerals, left, corresponding to the feet of the *umbra versa*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; below left, corresponding to the feet of the *umbra recta*: 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, empty, 1; below right, corresponding to the fingers of the *umbra recta*: empty, 3, 6, 9, 12; and right, corresponding to the fingers of the *umbra versa*: 12, 9, 6, 3.

Of the four semicircular bands of quadrants III and IV the outermost has to the left the caption *zill aqdām* followed by the numbers 24, 18, 12, 6 in *abḡad* numerals, and to the right the caption *zill aşābi'* followed by the numbers 42, 36, 30, 24, 18, 12

in *abḡād* numerals against a decoration of foliage and flowers which takes up the rest of the band containing no numerals. The next band is graduated – over some of the strokes there is a small circle. The other two bands are empty. The shadow squares are headed by the caption *arbāb al-mutallāt bin-nahār wal-layl* “The Lords of the triplicities by day and by night”. The shadow squares are divided into 4 horizontal bands, headed right by the captions *nār* “fire”, *turāb* “earth”, *hawā’* “air” and *mā’* “water”, indicating the four triplicities, which in their turn are divided by altogether 9 vertical bands, making a total of 40 small squares, including the captions. The three following vertical bands contain the signs of the zodiac of the triplicities, the signs being marked by *abḡād*-letters from Ø (zero), i.e. a *h* with the upper ends forming a horizontal line (as explained by al-Bīrūnī<sup>12</sup>) but on this astrolabe actually rather with a vertical line above the *h*: δ or ε, as also in the list of towns, above p. 165), to 11. The next three bands contain the planets which are lords by day and the last three those which are lords by night of each triplicity. The names of the planets are abbreviated, the last consonant of the name of each planet being used for abbreviation. That there are three lords by day and three lords by night is according to a more popular doctrine (called *haswīya* by al-Bīrūnī<sup>13</sup> – otherwise, according to the orthodox doctrine, the first two are the lords by day and night, respectively, and third is the companion both by day and night).

Tripl.	Signs of the zodiac			Lords of the day			Lords of the night		
nār	Ø	<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>l</i>
fire	<i>ḥamal</i>	<i>asad</i>	<i>qaws</i>	<i>šams</i>	<i>muštarī</i>	<i>zuḥal</i>	<i>muštarī</i>	<i>šams</i>	<i>zuḥal</i>
	Aries	Leo	Sagitt.	sun	Jupiter	Saturn	Jupiter	sun	Saturn
<i>turāb</i>	‘	<i>h</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
earth	<i>tawr</i>	<i>sunbula</i>	<i>ḡady</i>	<i>zuhara</i>	<i>qamar</i>	<i>mirriḥ</i>	<i>qamar</i>	<i>zuhara</i>	<i>mirriḥ</i>
	Taurus	Virgo	Capric.	Venus	moon	Mars	moon	Venus	Mars
<i>hawā’</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>
air	<i>ḡawzā’</i>	<i>mizān</i>	<i>dalw</i>	<i>zuḥal</i>	<i>‘uṭarid</i>	<i>muštarī</i>	<i>‘uṭarid</i>	<i>zuḥal</i>	<i>muštarī</i>
	Gemini	Libra	Aquar.	Saturn	Mercury	Jupiter	Mercury	Saturn	Jupiter
<i>mā’</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y’</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>r</i>
water	<i>saraṭān</i>	<i>‘aqrab</i>	<i>hūt</i>	<i>zuhara</i>	<i>mirriḥ</i>	<i>qamar</i>	<i>mirriḥ</i>	<i>zuhara</i>	<i>qamar</i>
	Cancer	Scorp.	Pisces	Venus	Mars	moon	Mars	Venus	moon

3. a) [Fig. 3–4] On the ‘ankabūt each sign of the zodiac is divided into five subdivisions marked in *abḡād*-letters 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, each subdivision thus consisting of 6 degrees, showing a sextuplicate (*sudsī*) astrolabe. Several of the pointers marking the fixed stars have no names engraved upon them, and in some cases a name could refer to more than one pointer. Following fixed stars are marked on the ‘ankabūt:

1. *‘uqāb* (al. *danab al-‘uqāb*) = ζ Aquilae (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen*<sup>14</sup> 156 No. 84).
2. *ḥawwā’* (al. *ra’s al-ḥawwā’*) = α Ophiuchi (81 No. 51).
3. *fā’ir* = α Aquilae (81 No. 54).
4. *marfiq* (al. *marfiq al-ḥawwā’*) = λ Ophiuchi (176 No. 120).
5. *wāqi’* = α Lyrae (81 No. 53).

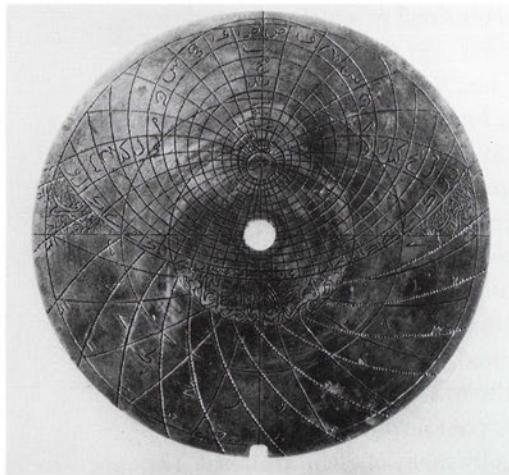


Fig. 5 (disk I a).

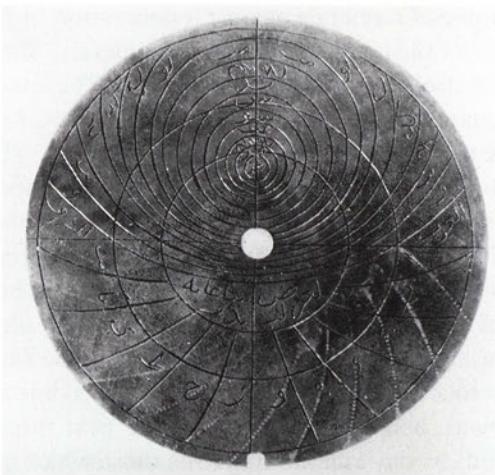


Fig. 6 (disk I b).

6. *fakka* =  $\alpha$  Coronae borealis (79 No. 45). Wählins read *qubba* and identified it with  $\alpha$  Coronae borealis, but *qubba* is, according to aş-Şūfi<sup>15</sup>, Corona Austrina (Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen*<sup>16</sup> 95 No. 231).
  7. *matn faras* =  $\pi$  Pegasi (Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen* 56 No. 89).
  8. *qā'id* =  $\eta$  Ursae maioris (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen* 123 No. 30, *Untersuchungen* 91 No. 213).
  9. *rāmīh* (al. *as-simāk ar-rāmīh*) =  $\alpha$  Bootis (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen* 79 No. 41).
  10. *haḍīb* (al. *al-kaff al-haḍīb*) =  $\beta$  Cassiopeiae (66 No. 2).
  11. *'ayyūq* =  $\alpha$  Aurigae (71 No. 20). The pointer has two points – the left one is meant.
  12. *'ayn* (al. *'ayn at-tawr = ad-dabarān*) =  $\alpha$  Tauri (Kunitzsch, *Typen*<sup>17</sup> 32 n. 3).
  13. *yamāniya* (al. *ši'rā al-yamāniya*) =  $\alpha$  Canis maioris (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen* 72 No. 23).
  14. *ša'āmiya* (al. *ši'rā as-ša'āmiya*) =  $\alpha$  Canis minoris (73 No. 25).
  15. *safīna* (al. *ṭaraf as-safīna*) =  $\varrho$  Puppis (74 No. 27). Also this pointer has more than one point.
  16. *qalb asad* =  $\alpha$  Leonis (76 No. 30).
  17. *fard aş-ṣuğā'* =  $\alpha$  Hydræ (76 No. 29).
  18. *ḡurāb* (al. *ḡanāḥ al-ḡurāb*)  $\gamma$  Corvi (166 No. 103).
  19. *a'zal* (al. *simāk al-a'zal*) =  $\alpha$  Virginis (146 No. 66, *Untersuchungen* 105 No. 269).
  20. *qalb al-'aqrab* =  $\alpha$  Scorpionis (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen* 80 No. 48).
3. b) There are four disks, engraved on both sides.

I a) [Fig. 5] *li-'ard ld* “for latitude 34” is inscribed between the true horizon and the northern tropic to the right of the meridian. To the left of the meridian: *as-sā'āt ydyz* “the hours are 14 17” (in the longest day of the year). Between the true horizon and the straight horizon the words *al-mağrib* “the West” and *al-maşriq* “the East” are inscribed to the right and left. These three inscriptions are against a

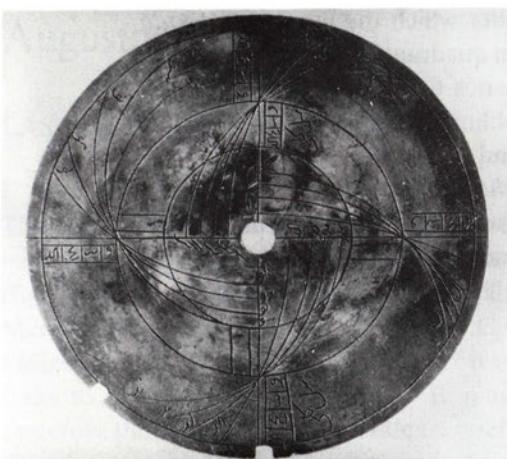


Fig. 7 (disk IV a).

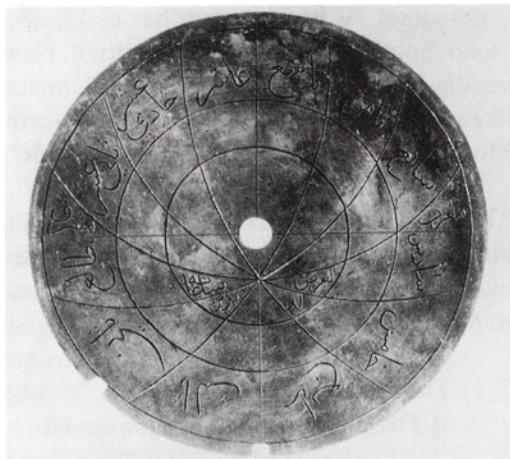


Fig. 8 (disk IV b).

background of decorative foliage. In the bottom half the hours are marked from W to E 1-12 with *abgad*-letters for the unequal hours, and 1-14 with numerals for the equal hours, adding 17 in *abgad*-letters for the remaining minutes.

The degrees of the almacanthars are marked from E and W 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36 and from S 42, 48, 54, 60, 66, 72, 78, 84 and 90 in the zenith. There are thus 15 circles indicating every 6th degree, the astrolabe being sextuplicate (*sudsī*).

The azimuths are numbered from E and W to the meridian 10, 20, 30 etc. to 90 along the true horizon and continuing higher up 40, 50 etc. to 90 on both sides of the meridian at S.

I b) [Fig. 6] *li-'ard lb* “for latitude 32”, *sā'ātuhū yd z* “its hours are 14 7”. “The East” and “The West”, the degrees of the almacanthars and the unequal hours are marked. The execution of the inscriptions is less decorative than in I a.

II a) *li-'ard l* “for latitude 30”, *sā'ātuhū yg nw* “its hours are 13 56”. “The East” and “The West” are not marked, otherwise as I b.

II b) *li-'ard m* “for latitude 40”, *sā'ātuhū yd n* “its hours are 14 51”. Otherwise as I b.

III a) *li-'ard lw* “for latitude 36”, *sā'ātuhū yd kh* “its hours are 14 28”. Otherwise as I b.

III b) *li-'ard lh* “for latitude 35”, *sā'ātuhū yd kb* “its hours are 14 22”. Otherwise as I b.

IV a) [Fig. 7] A disk of horizons (*safīha āfāqīya*), as described by Morley<sup>18</sup>. It is divided into quadrants by means of two diameters and into three circular bands. Each following quadrant can be read by turning the disk 90°. Placed in the astrolabe, quadrant I is bottom left. Under the horizontal diameter the outermost band is divided into four parts numbered 6, 12, 18, 24 – the individual degrees not being marked. Four curves at the bottom of quadrant I are marked 27, 37, 47, 57, and four curves through the middle and innermost bands are marked 36, 46, 56, 66.

Quadrant II top left has in the same places 6, 12, 18, 24 – 36, 46, 56, 66 – 27, 37, 47, 57. Quadrant III top right has the series 6, 12, 18, 24 – 27, 37, 47, 57 – 20, 30, 40, 50.

Quadrant IV bottom right has 6, 12, 18, 24 under which the words *mayl kullī* “total /Southern/ obliquity” are written. Now also in quadrant III can be read in the middle band below the horizontal diameter the series 6, 12, 18, 24 under which likewise the words *nayl kullī* “total /Northern/ obliquity” are written. Thus, as Morley states, every horizon from 6° to 66° is found on the tablet.

IV b) [Fig. 8] *li-‘ard ld* “for latitude 34”, *sā‘ātuhū yd yz* “its hours are 14 17”. “The East” and “The West” are marked. Equator and tropics, horizon and meridian are marked. The remaining lines divide the firmament into “houses” (*buyūt*), marked from E against the clock *tāli* “ascendant”, “horoscope”, *tānī* “second” etc. to *tānī ‘aśar* “twelfth”<sup>19</sup>.

3. c) The alidad is lacking.

d–e) The pin and horse are preserved.

## NOTES

1. Letters from Wählins till R. T. Gunther, April 30th and May 23rd, 1936, Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford; Beskrivning av ... arabiskt astrolabium av år 1773, 1936, Lunds Universitetsbibliotek.
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7. Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 1, London 1958, p. 116; see al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm li-awā'il sināt at-tanqīm*/The book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology, repr. & tr. by R. R. Wright, London 1934, § 215, and Dunlop, D. M., art. *Djazā’ir al-khālida*, EI<sup>2</sup>.
8. Al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, § 214.
9. Morley, W. H., Description of a planispheric astrolabe, constructed for Shāh Sultān Husain Safawī, London etc. 1856, repr. in Gunther, R. T., Astrolabes of the world, London (1932) 1976, p. 23.
10. EI<sup>2</sup> s.v.
11. Yāqūt, *Mu’gām al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1–6, Leipzig 1866–1870, s.v.
12. Al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, § 118.
13. Al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, § 445.
14. Kunitzsch, P., Arabische Sternnamen in Europa, Wiesbaden 1959.
15. As-Ṣūfi, Description des étoiles fixes, tr. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St.-Pétersbourg 1874, pp. 252 sq.
16. Kunitzsch, P., Untersuchungen zur Sternomenklatur der Araber, Wiesbaden 1961.
17. Kunitzsch, P., Typen von Sternverzeichnissen in astronomischen Handschriften des 10. bis 14. Jh., Wiesbaden 1966.
18. Description, p. 28 to pl. XV, and following him by Wählins, Beskrivning, p. 8.
19. Al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, §§ 245–246; see Ullmann, M., Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, Leiden & Köln 1972, p. 355.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the notes.

# Augustus and Meroe

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The only vulnerable point of the frontiers of Egypt was at the First Cataract of the Nile, in the region of the so-called Dodekaschoinos or Land of The Twelve Miles<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1). The ownership of the Dodekaschoinos caused conflicts between Egypt and Meroe ever since the early 4th century B.C.<sup>2</sup> It belonged during the last decades of Ptolemaic rule to Egypt,<sup>3</sup> but in 30 B.C.<sup>4</sup> it was occupied by Meroe. One of the first tasks to be solved by Egypt's first Roman praefect, C. Cornelius Gallus,<sup>5</sup> was therefore the establishment of a safe frontier district in the region and the settling of the relations with Meroe. Meroe was regarded in Egypt as a difficult neighbour and as a country rich in gold and exotic wares; thus the settlement was not without importance. It was reached through a series of encounters that took almost ten years between 30 and 21/20 B.C. The story is told by Strabo,<sup>6</sup> Pliny<sup>7</sup> and Cassius Dio<sup>8</sup> and further documented by inscriptions of Cornelius Gallus<sup>9</sup> and Augustus himself.<sup>10</sup> Apart from doubts concerning details, Meroitic scholars generally accept this, from the point of view of Meroitic studies, uniquely rich and comprehensible, first-hand evidence.<sup>11</sup> The bias of the Roman interpretation of the Meroitic war was recently analysed by Inge Hofmann<sup>12</sup> and by myself, but our attempts were unfavourably received.<sup>13</sup> When I return here to the issue, it is because I regard the discussion initiated by Hofmann as unfinished and because I hope that my readers will share the view of the eighteenth-century German writer Lichtenberg, according to whom it is first of all common opinion, and matters taken by everybody as settled, that deserve our closest scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> Finally it appears that the war of Augustus against Meroe and the resulting establishment were in some respects an organic continuation of Ptolemaic policy towards Meroe; therefore this episode of the history of Roman Egypt may be of some interest for the students of ancient history.

In the following I shall give a short chronological account of the war. It will be based on the texts and inscriptions referred to above, the deliberate and undeliberate limits of which I shall try to point out as far as possible in the framework of a short paper. The criticism of the sources has the aim to give an idea of the vanity of round and comprehensive reconstructions of the war of Augustus against Meroe, and to define, or at least circumscribe, its probable significance within the course of Meroitic – Ptolemaic – Roman contacts. Then I shall proceed to a discussion of some features of the Augustan Peace in the Twelve Mile Reach and to the interpretation of two art objects connected to the person of Augustus and found in Meroe. Finally I shall try to illustrate through the fate of one of the latter the ambiguity of the Meroitic attitude towards Rome in the 1st century A.D.

Shortly after the annexation of the new province, Egypt's first praefect, C. Cornelius Gallus, friend of Octavian and Vergil,<sup>15</sup> poet of renommée,<sup>16</sup> was confronted with an insurrection in Upper Egypt.<sup>17</sup> It was explained by Strabo as a consequence of the imposing of the *laographia* i.e. poll-tax, a burden unknown to Egyptians under the Ptolemies.<sup>18</sup> The rising could in fact have been triggered by the

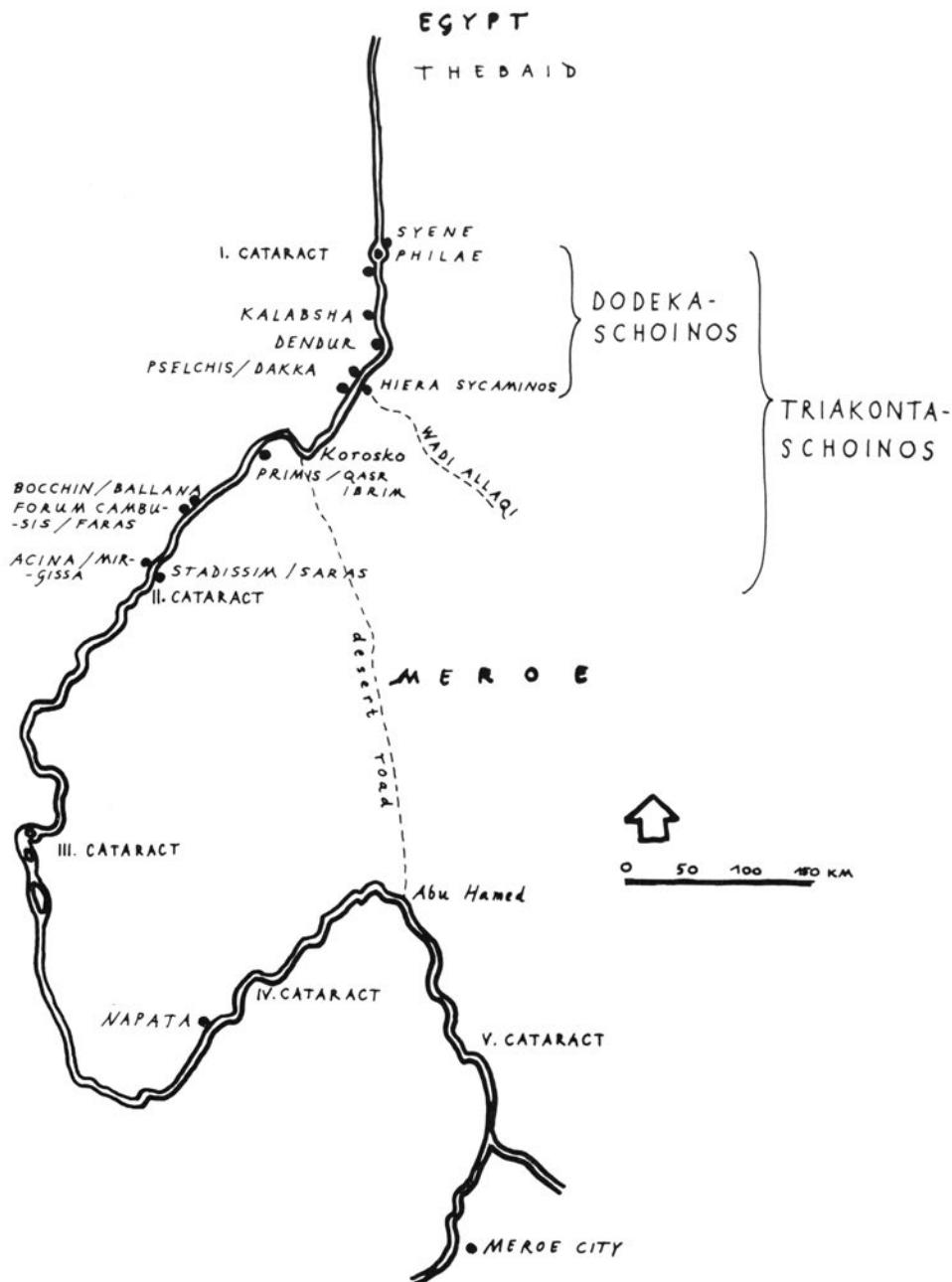


Fig. 1. The kingdom of Meroe.

appearance of Roman tax collectors, but it was probably prepared already in the turbulent period before 30 B.C.; moreover, it was not independent from the next conflict to be faced by Cornelius Gallus. The latter occurred in connection with the Meroitic-Egyptian frontier, that lay at the southern end of the rising Thebaid. There can be no doubt that the pacification of the frontier region was decided in the moment when the scheme of the military defence of Roman Egypt was created. Yet

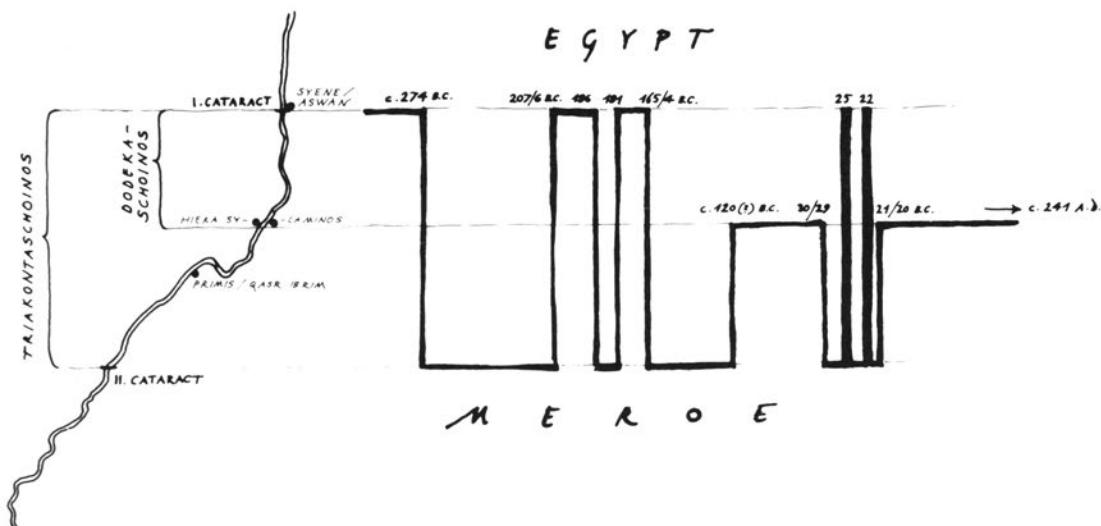


Fig. 2. Changes in the position of the frontier between Egypt and Meroe after the early 4th c. B.C.

the inscription erected by Cornelius Gallus on April 17, 29 B.C. in Philae commemorates the victory over the insurrection and the pacification of the frontier together, and in a way which suggests either that the Theban revolt was prompted by a Meroitic advance, or that the Meroites were encouraged by the insurrection in Upper Egypt.<sup>19</sup> The praefect relates that he crossed the First Cataract with his army,<sup>20</sup> received the envoys of the Meroites in Philae, admitted their king to protection and appointed a tyrannos of the Triakontaschoinos or the Thirty Mile Reach, being a district in Meroe, or, as the latin version of the trilingual inscription puts, *tyranno Triakontaschoeni in fine Aethiopiae constituto*. The pacification thus went beyond the actual Egyptian border at Hiera Sycaminos, the southern end of the Dodekaschoinos. The appointment by the Roman praefect of a tyrant over the whole territory between the First and Second Cataract means no less than the forcible establishment of a vassal chiefdom. Military success of Cornelius Gallus must also explain what he records with these words: *legatis regis Aethiopum ... auditis, eodem rege in tutelam recepto*. The vassal Triakontaschoinos and the protection of the Meroitic king were beyond doubt the first steps towards the establishment of a client-kingdom and, eventually, the later annexation of the whole or a part of the kingdom of Meroe.

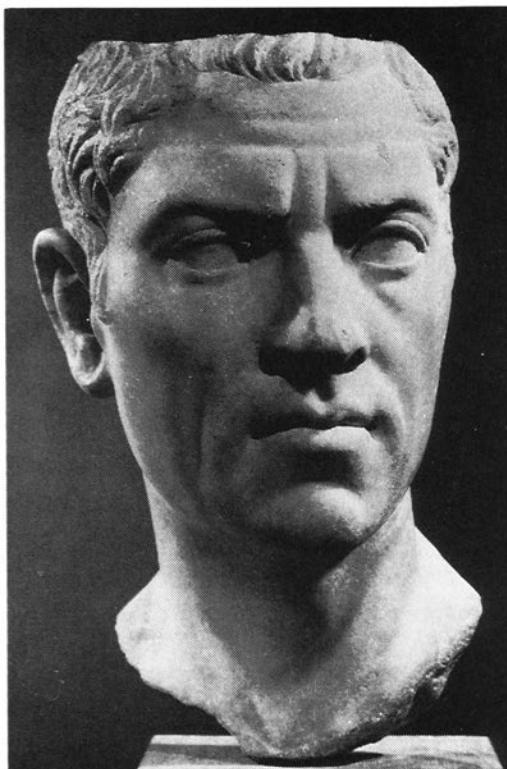
These aims may explain, why we don't find the terminology of *bellum iustum* in the accounts of Cornelius Gallus and Augustus.

Although the vainglorious tone of his trilingual inscription forecasts Gallus' hybris which will lead to his disgrace and suicide, there can be no doubt that in the Triakontaschoinos he acted according to Octavian's orders and in the spirit of Roman frontier policy of the day. The inscription reveals that at the same time he was aware of the way the Ptolemies had solved same frontier problem. The region had been conquered by Meroe in the early 4th century B.C.,<sup>21</sup> but occupied in ca. 274 B.C.<sup>22</sup> by the second Ptolemy, who must have considered its ownership to be the only safe basis of contacts with Meroe.<sup>23</sup> Meroe succeeded, however, in recon-

quering it for two short periods in the course of the late third and early second century B.C. (between 207/6 and 186<sup>24</sup> and between 181 and 165/5).<sup>25</sup> Remarkably enough, Meroitic success was secured both times by rebellions in Upper Egypt. After 165/4 the Triakontaschoinos was for some five decades firmly under Ptolemaic rule. As it seems, the administration of the region was unusual insofar as it was based on Ethiopian communities subordinate to an Ethiopian eparch,<sup>26</sup> who was controlled presumably by the strategos of the neighbouring Thebaid. This establishment must have been due to the ethnic composition of the region, i.e. to a non-Egyptian,<sup>27</sup> majority of southern origin. It can be presumed that the native organization continued its existence also after the late 2nd century B.C. when Ptolemaic control seems to have been restricted on the Dodekaschoinos (cp. fig. 2). We have good reason to believe that Cornelius Gallus found the territory to be inhabited by a similarly composed population. Although there were also other patterns, according to which the government of the pacified Triakontaschoinos could have been constructed, the institution of a native tyrant and the – at least nominal – double, Roman and Meroitic, authority was (to an unfortunately unknown extent)<sup>28</sup> a revival of the Ptolemaic administration.

It is needless to stress that the establishment intended not only to obtain security at the frontier, but also control of the trade in the adjacent Red Sea region on the one hand and ownership of the gold-mining area of the Wadis Allaqi and Gabgaba, on the other.<sup>29</sup> Firm control over the Triakontaschoinos meant furthermore that the shortest and safest desert road from Meroe City to Lower Nubia and Egypt ended at Korosko in the vassal territory. Later development will nevertheless have demonstrated to Augustus (as previously to the Ptolemies) that all these advantages could also have been achieved with much less effort and without entertaining the ambition of maintaining a vassal chiefdom that deeply disturbed Meroitic interests or even of preparing the way towards a client-kingdom or a province Meroe. But in order to realize this fact, he had first to fight a difficult war and also to change his entire foreign policy. Yet around 29 B.C. the vassal Triakontaschoinos and the development inherent in its establishment were most logical. The menace of barbarian countries along the frontiers could, according to Republican policy, be prevented only by annexation; this maxim was to be repeated also long after Augustus had begun to enforce what we call summarily, and with frequent misunderstanding, his Peace.<sup>30</sup>

After his success in the south, Cornelius Gallus lost a sense of proportion, assumed royal airs, thus impardonably offending Octavian who accepted full royal honours in Egypt. He started to set up statues of himself throughout Egypt.<sup>31</sup> A head in Cleveland (fig. 3)<sup>32</sup> is probably a fragment of one of these and may illustrate by its size and style that he was justly accused of *hybris*. But, when analysing the reasons for his disgrace,<sup>33</sup> it cannot be forgotten that Augustus declared the *renuntiatio amicitiae* only in the spring of 27, i.e. after the Restoration of the Republic, when he received the cognomen Augustus and unlimited power over a vast *provincia* including Egypt. It is likely that the disgrace was also prompted by plans of Augustus concerning government of Egypt. However, between the summer of 27 and the summer of 25 he was occupied in Spain and seems not to have dealt with affairs of, and around Egypt, apart from routine matters. In the summer



*Fig. 3. C. Cornelius Gallus (?). Cleveland Museum. After Grimm.*

25 he ordered Aelius Gallus, second prefect of Egypt,<sup>34</sup> to launch an expedition against Arabia Felix.<sup>35</sup> To a certain extent this expedition, insofar as it also concerned Red Sea trade, was an extension of the scheme to which the pacification of Meroe belonged. At the same time<sup>36</sup> a new praefect was appointed in the person of C. Petronius.<sup>37</sup> Aelius Gallus left first for Arsinoe to prepare the expedition,<sup>38</sup> and from there – after some months – to Leuke Kome. He took with him almost half of the forces stationed in Egypt.<sup>39</sup> Following his withdrawal Meroitic troops crossed the First Cataract, ravaged Philae, Syene and Elephantine, and carried off prisoners and statues of Augustus. In a later phase of the war they were asked by Petronius about their motives: the answer was that they were mistreated by the monarchs, i.e. tax-collectors.<sup>40</sup> This detail suggests that the case was in reality a popular rising in the vassal Triakontaschoinos. Also Strabo's description of their primitive equipment and insufficient army organisation speaks for the hypothesis that the first act of the war was an insurrection against vassallage. Petronius appeared within some weeks<sup>41</sup> with 10000 infantry and 800 cavalry, drove out the invaders and, pushing on towards south, met the army sent from the south by the queen who ruled together with her son<sup>42</sup> at Pselchis/Dakka. Here he destroyed the Meroitic forces, advanced to Primis/Qasr Ibrim which he took. According to Strabo, Pliny and Cassius Dio he marched thence to Napata; this detail seems to be supported by the *Res Gestae*, too. According to these sources Napata was conquered and destroyed, in spite of the fact that, as Strabo relates, the queen offered to give back the prisoners and the statues of the emperor. On the way back

Petronius refortified Primis and provided it with a garrison of 400 men and food for two years.<sup>43</sup> On his return to Alexandria he dispatched one thousand Meroitic war prisoners to Augustus, who, so Strabo, had recently returned from Spain to Rome.

The actual success of the expedition was presumably humbler than put by the sources. The following details indicate that they described an ideal development of the war in the terms required by the expansionist spirit of contemporary literature<sup>44</sup> and demanded by popular propaganda. According to Pliny<sup>45</sup> Petronius took the towns of Pselchis/Dakka, Primis/Qasr Ibrim, Bocchin/Ballana,<sup>46</sup> Forum Cambusis/Faras,<sup>47</sup> Atteniam/Mirgissa,<sup>48</sup> Stadissim, where the rushing waters of the Nile deafen those who live in the neighbourhood, i.e. Saras at the Second Cataract.<sup>49</sup> To these he adds: and Petronius also sacked Napata. The list creates the impression that it was in reality the Triakontaschoinos that was re-conquered: the addition of Napata stands there inorganically, the more so as all our sources are silent as to how Petronius overcame the difficulties of the further distances? If he took the desert road (the fearfulness of which was known to every reader of Herodotus), he had to return from Stadissim (cp. fig. 1). Travel along the Nile was practically impossible.<sup>50</sup> The relevant sentence of the *Res Gestae* only supports our doubts: "At my command and under my auspices two armies were led almost at the same time into Ethiopia and Arabia Felix: vast enemy forces of both peoples were cut down in battle and many towns captured. Ethiopia was penetrated as far as the town of Napata which adjoins Meroe; in Arabia the army advanced into the territory of the Sabaeans to the town of Mariba".<sup>51</sup>

Yet the Arabian campaign was a failure.<sup>52</sup> Mariba is an unimportant town and not identical with the capital of the Sabaeans,<sup>53</sup> as Augustus would like to make us believe, and Napata does not adjoin Meroe. Aelius Gallus failed because he was unable to conquer a barren country of roadless deserts. As to Petronius, a sentence of Cassius Dio, slightly varying a sentence also to be found in Strabo's account,<sup>54</sup> is highly significant: after the capture of Napata he "found himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, [thus he] withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him".<sup>55</sup> It is tempting to believe that this decision was really made in the region of the Second Cataract, after the Triakontaschoinos was secured. In this way the *Res Gestae* would allude at two failures that had identical causes, circumstances and outcome. Considerations concerning the length of the expedition further support this hypothesis. The Meroitic attack on Syene, Elephantine and Philae could have started shortly after the withdrawal of half of the Roman forces by Aelius Gallus, an event that can be dated to the summer or autumn of 25 B.C. As to the end, Augustus, who allegedly received the Meroitic prisoners in Rome at his return from Spain, departed from Cantabria in the winter of 25, but, delayed by illness, he arrived in Rome in the spring of 24.<sup>56</sup> However, the Temple of Janus was closed already in the late winter of 25.<sup>57</sup> Although the closing was ordered in connection with the Cantabrian victory i. e. the end of the war in Spain, we may assume that it also meant the end of the war in Meroe. At this time Augustus was expected in Rome, and it is rather likely that Petronius sent the news of his victory and dispatched the prisoners to Rome before the actual arrival of the emperor. Accordingly, the expedition from Alexandria and back lasted at the maximum 6 or

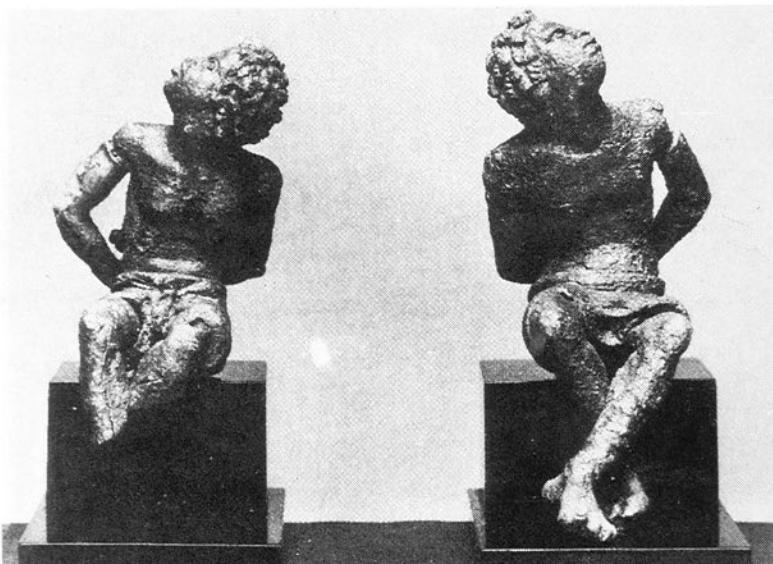


Fig. 4. Bronze statuettes representing Nubian prisoners. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. After Snowden.

7 months, at the minimum 4 or 5, and the latter variant is the more probable. Yet the march from Syene to Napata alone would have taken more than two months.<sup>58</sup> The expedition as recorded by Strabo could be managed in 6 or 7 months, though only under extremely favourable conditions; while 4 or 5 months would by no means have been sufficient for anything more, than the occupation of the Triakontaschoinos.

The accounts do not leave any doubt as to the nature of the outcome: the vassal Triakontaschoinos was not restored. It seems that the territory was annexed to the Empire.<sup>59</sup> The fragments of a miniature *tropaeum* representing Nubian prisoners (fig. 4)<sup>60</sup> belong perhaps to the commemorations of this event. Two years later, however, in the late winter of 22<sup>61</sup> the queen of Meroe approached Primis with her army, but Petronius arrived there before her. The queen did not risk battle and sent envoys to negotiate. These envoys were escorted to Augustus<sup>62</sup> who stayed on Samos. Since he spent the winter of 21/20 on the island, it seems probable that the encounter of Petronius and the Meroitic army occurred some time in the spring or summer of 21. At this point Strabo inserts one of his most pointed allusions at the barbaric intellectual niveau of the Meroites, saying that when Petronius bade them to go to Caesar, they asserted that they did not know who Caesar was and where to go to find him. All previous Meroitic actions show a fairly clear knowledge of what was going on in Egypt; Strabo's remark is in accordance with his interpretation of the conflict as justified self-defence of the Empire against the barbarian menace.

Negotiations on Samos resulted in the following: Augustus remitted the tribute imposed upon the Meroites and gave up the region south of Hiera Sycaminos. On the other hand, he fully annexed the region north of this point, i.e. he restored the Ptolemaic frontier at the southern limit of the Dodekaschoinos. The vassal chiefdom of the Triakontaschoinos and presumably the idea of the client-kingdom of Meroe, too, were given up. They proved to be unprofitable and certainly also



Fig. 5. Augustus offers incense and water to Peteisis and Pahor. Relief in the temple of Dendur, now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. After Aldred.

untenable. Nevertheless, real political power relations are to be judged on the basis of the annexation of the Dodekaschoinos and not on an apparent compromise. The terms of the Samos treaty are determined by the new foreign policy of the emperor which we usually interpret as the manifestation of the *Pax Augusta*. As opposed to Republican policy, which still dominated around 29, wars in the late 20's were intended to ensure security within the existing frontiers: they were defensive, not expansive.<sup>63</sup> Augustus regarded world hegemony as achieved and not as something yet to be realized. Although this policy was not consistent with popular expectation, which he prudently met half-way in his *Res Gestae*, Augustus tried to conduct events in this spirit and did not let popular aggressiveness prevail. This is exemplified in the sphere of religious ideology by the dedication of the standards recovered from the Parthians in 20 B.C. to Mars Ultor, whom Augustus declared on this occasion to be the preserver of peace.<sup>64</sup> Yet security within the frontiers means in practice appropriate frontiers: the occupation of the Dodekaschoinos, which was mainly inhabited by Meroites, is indeed a very good example of *Pax Augusta* on its practical level.

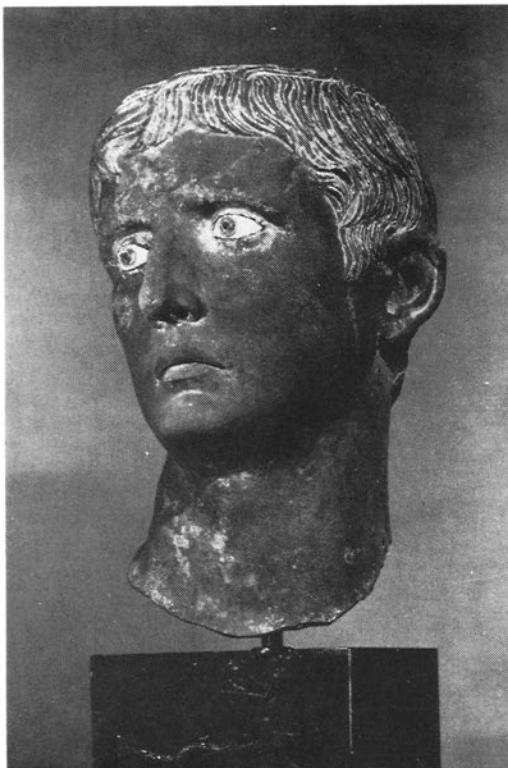


Fig. 6. Augustus, British Museum. After Hintze.



Fig. 7. Silver cup from Meroe, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, detail. After Dunham.



Fig. 8. Silver cup from Meroe, detail. After Dunham.



Fig. 9. Silver cup from Meroe, detail. After Dunham.



Fig. 10. Silver cup from Meroe, detail. After Dunham.

Augustan policy in the Dodekaschoinos was tactful and circumspect insofar as it did not disregard the ethnic composition and the past history of the region.<sup>65</sup> It may be illustrated by two cults that were especially supported by the emperor.

Mandulis, a decidedly non-Egyptian deity, seems to have been introduced there between 207/6 and 186 B.C. by the Meroitic king Arqamani, who dedicated a chapel for him in Kalabsha.<sup>66</sup> Around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. there was a temple of Mandulis in Philae.<sup>67</sup> The latter was supported by the Meroites living in the Dodekaschoinos, and its foundation was in all probability connected with the native administration maintained by the Ptolemies. The Kalabsha chapel was magnificently enlarged by Augustus, but at the same time the figure of the deity was essentially re-shaped. On the one hand, he was genealogically connected to Horus (in the first generation), Isis and Osiris (in the second generation);<sup>68</sup> on the other, he was, through an *interpretatio Graeca*, identified with Apollo.<sup>69</sup> Thus his cult became affiliated to the great Egyptian cults of Philae, was drawn nearer to those of the Egyptians settled in the region, and could at the same time also meet the religious demands of the Roman military forces stationed there.

The temple of Dendur was dedicated by Augustus to the deified brothers Peteisis and Pahor (P3-dj-Ist and B3-n-Hr), sons of Quper (Qwpr or Qpr).<sup>70</sup> Their historicity is very likely, and it is also likely that Quper was none other than the tyrant appointed in 29 B.C. by Cornelius Gallus.<sup>71</sup> If this assumption of Cyril Aldred<sup>72</sup> is right, the cult of Peteisis and Pahor not only attests the promotion of another specifically Nubian cult but also gives a good illustration of the prudence of Augustan policy. For, if we are not mistaken, the cult was not only meant to flatter the Meroites of the Dodekaschoinos but also explicitly to remind them of the



Fig. 11. Silver cup from Meroe, detail. After Vermeule.

political reality and to warn them against illusions; moreover, it would lend a religious expression to the connections between conqueror and conquered, between past and present (fig. 5).<sup>73</sup> It is to be regretted that Aldred's hypothesis cannot be proved and that we do not know, by what kind of priesthood and for what kind of demands the archaeologically attested oracle in the temple was managed.<sup>74</sup>

I turn now to the two art objects discovered in Meroe City, which are connected to Augustus. The first is the famous monumental bronze head (fig. 6)<sup>75</sup> which originally belonged to a cuirassed statue. The portrait belongs to the Primaporta type.<sup>76</sup> With the exception of Inge Hofmann,<sup>77</sup> scholars of Meroitic history generally maintain that the statue belonged to the booty taken by the Meroites in Syene in the autumn of 25 B.C. This opinion disregards the view of iconographic literature on Augustus, in which, ever since Kähler's study on the Primaporta statue,<sup>78</sup> the development of the type is dated in the period between ca. 27–25 and 23 B.C. Recent research by U. Hausmann<sup>79</sup> has demonstrated that it emerged first on coin series issued in the East in 27/6 in connection with the Restoration of the Republic, but did not become dominant before 25–23. Even if we suppose an earlier date for the distribution of the Primaporta portrait type than suggested by Hausmann,<sup>80</sup> it seems unlikely that an example of it existed in Syene as early as 25 B.C. It is perhaps nearer to the truth that the head belonged originally to a statue which was erected after the re-occupation of the Triakontaschoenos by Petronius, some time



Fig. 12. Aureus, 17 B.C. After Kent et al.

between 25 and 22. If so, it could have been set up in the fortress of Primis/Qasr Ibrim<sup>81</sup> where we may suppose the existence of a *sacellum* and where the statue could receive the homage of the troops and the submissive natives.

The other object, a fine gilded silver drinking vessel was unearthed in the pyramid of the 1st century A.D. ruler King Amanikhabale.<sup>82</sup> The repoussé decoration consists of the representation of an enthroned king in a judgement scene, in front of him a basket (fig. 7), an executioner with his axe (fig. 8), two children clutching the knees of a suppliant woman (fig. 9), a gesturing man and a chopping block behind him (fig. 10). The scene was interpreted as an episode in the Hellenistic legends about Bocchoris (the historical Bakernranef),<sup>83</sup> who was characterized by Diodorus as great law-giver.<sup>84</sup> In the face of the king (fig. 11) C. Vermeule discovered the features of Augustus, as they appeared on cistophori issued in eastern mints in 19/8 B.C.<sup>85</sup> It seems to me that if we are allowed at all to make such comparisons,<sup>86</sup> a better analogy can be found on an eastern *aureus* issued probably in commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C. (fig. 12).<sup>87</sup>



Fig. 13. Copy of a painting in building 292, Royal Enclosure, Meroe City. After Shinnie-Bradley.

Since the identity of the king with Augustus must remain hypothetical and since the actual scene does not occur among the preserved Bocchoris legends, also the idea that the scene hints at the Augustan solution of the conflicts between Meroe with Egypt and Rome must remain hypothetical.<sup>88</sup>

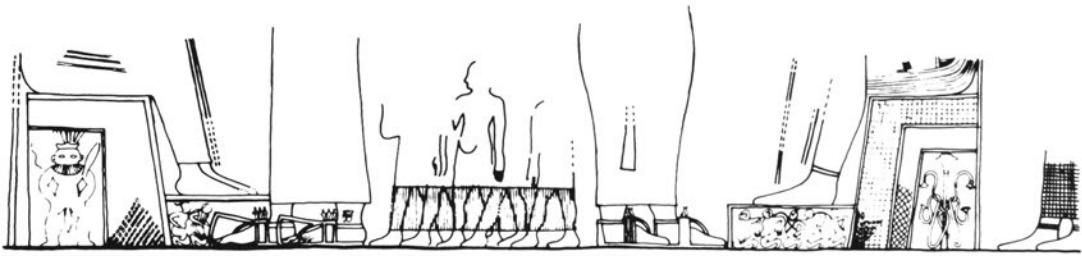


Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the mural painting on the east wall of the interior of building 292, Royal Enclosure, Meroe City.

The bronze head was found buried in a pocket of clean sand in front of a flight of steps leading to a chapel in the Royal Enclosure.<sup>89</sup> This chapel was of considerable antiquity<sup>90</sup> and was rebuilt in conjunction with the burying of the head. At the same time its interior was decorated with mural paintings.<sup>91</sup> The style and details of the iconography date these latter and, consequently, the burying of the head, to around the middle of the 1st century A.D.<sup>92</sup> Photographs and water colour drawings made by the excavators allow a partial reconstruction of the figure of a prince (fig. 13)<sup>93</sup> and of a scene in which a king and a queen, accompanied by princes, adore deities (fig. 14).<sup>94</sup> The two enthroned male deities (two forms of Amun?) have warrior qualities, which are stressed by the decoration of their footrests.<sup>95</sup> The burying of the Augustus head must have had a hostile magic significance, and the connection between this magic act and the particular chapel could not have been by chance. However, these data are all that we know of the building.<sup>96</sup>

Art and culture in general after the Samos treaty show a dependence on Roman Egypt.<sup>97</sup> The import of objects of art, of architectural plans, religious texts, artists and workmen leads not only to borrowings, imitations and adaptations but also to syntheses of Meroitic tradition with Roman cultural elements.<sup>98</sup> Contacts with Roman Egypt around and after the middle of the 1st century A.D. seem to have been especially manifold.<sup>99</sup> Between 61 and 63 even envoys from Nero are received as friends by the king in Meroe City.<sup>100</sup> Yet the burying of the Augustus head in front of a chapel of triumphal character occurred just in this period. The act of hostility celebrated with the ritual burying of the portrait appears to reveal another, deeper-lying stratum of Meroitic political awareness. It was certainly not the usual burial of damaged sculpture: this is rendered improbable by the presumable origin and the object of the representation. More likely it was done in revenge for the occupation of the Triakontaschoinos, the ensuing loss of the Dodekaschoinos and was perhaps intended to prevent similar catastrophes by magically binding the representative of the greatest known foreign kingdom.

Roman writers, when describing the outcome of the war with Meroe, not only put arguments of *bellum iustum* into the foreground but also stress Augustus' clemency.<sup>101</sup> His policy in the Dodekaschoinos was indeed tactful. As an involuntary consequence, we tend to believe that the advantages of Augustan Peace were extant and evident for both partners. The head buried in front of the chapel in the Meroitic Royal Enclosure grants a rare glimpse into Meroitic perceptions and

warns us that ideology concerning the external world and practical contacts maintained therewith only rarely tally with each other.

May-June, 1985.

## NOTES

1. For the literature on the history of the region see *J. Desanges*: Le statut et les limites de la Nubie romaine. CdÉ 44 (1969) 139–147; *id.*: Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique. Rome 1978 279ff.; *L. Török*: To the History of the Dodekaschoinos between ca. 250 B.C. and 298 A.D. ZÄS 107 (1980) 76–86.
2. According to his annals, King Harsiyotef (first half of the 4th c. B.C.) subjected a number of chiefdoms in Lower Nubia and his expeditions in connection with these chiefdoms reached the area of the First Cataract. See his inscription Cairo Mus. 48864, *N.-C. Grimal*: Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire, JE 48863–48866, Textes et Indices. Le Caire 1981.
3. For the data supporting this view (which is, in my opinion without proper arguments, frequently rejected in literature on Lower Nubia), see *Desanges* 1978 (note 1) 285ff.
4. See below.
5. PIR II 326ff., No. 1369; *A. Stein* in: PWRE IV. 1342 No. 164; *O. W. Reinmuth* in: Bull. Am. Soc. of Papyrologists 4 (1967) 75f.; *G. Bastianini*: Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto del 30<sup>a</sup> al 299<sup>o</sup>. ZPE 17 (1975) 263–328 263ff.
6. Strabo, XVII, 1, 54 (H. L. Jones, LoebCIL).
7. Pliny, N. H., VI, 18lf. (FGrH 673 F 163d).
8. Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4–6 (E. Cary, LoebCIL).
9. Trilingual inscr. from Philae, now Cairo Mus. JE 9295. Latin text: CIL III (suppl.) 14147. Greek text: *E. Bernand*: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae II. Haut et Bas Empire. Paris 1969 No. 128 (together with the latin text). Hieroglyphic text: *H. Schäfer*: Zur Inschrift des C. Cornelius Gallus. ZÄS 34 (1896) 91; *U. Wilcken*: Zur trilinguen Inschrift von Philae. ZÄS 35 (1897) 70–80.
10. Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 26, 5 (P. A. Brunt, J. M. Moore, Oxford 1967 26).
11. E. g. *P. L. Shinnie*: Meroe A Civilization of the Sudan. London 1967 43ff.; *F. Hintze*: Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroe. Berlin 1959 25f.; *id.*: The Meroitic Period. In: Africa in Antiquity I. The Essays. Brooklyn Museum 1978 89–105.
12. *I. Hofmann*: Der Feldzug des C. Petronius nach Nubien und seine Bedeutung für die meroitische Chronologie. In: Ägypten und Kusch (Fs Hintze) Berlin 1977 189–205. – The degree of Roman success was doubted by *F. Ll. Griffith*: Meroitic Studies IV. JEA 4 (1917) 159–173; *C. Préaux*: Sur les communications de l'Éthiopie avec l'Égypte hellénistique. CdÉ 27 (1952) 257–281 266f.; *F. M. Snowden*: Blacks in Antiquity. Ethiopians in the Graeco-Roman Experience. Cambridge/Mass. 1971 132ff.; but cf. also *M. Rostovtzeff*: The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire<sup>2</sup> II. Oxford 1957 676 note 56.
13. *L. Török*: Kush and the External World. Hauptreferat, Fifth International Conference on Meroitic Studies, Rome, July 1984. Meroitica 10 (in print), for objections see *S. M. Burstein ibid.*
14. I have borrowed the quotation from *Hofmann* 1977 (note 12) 189. It reads in the German original: Die gemeinsten Meinungen und das, was jedermann für ausgemacht hält, verdient oft am meisten untersucht zu werden. – In writing this paper I was stimulated by said, and other, papers of Prof. Hofmann; I hope, she will excuse me that I also have appropriated her motto.
15. Ps.-Prob., Verg. ecl. praef., 328 (Hagen); Vergil., Georg., B 4; Cassius Dio, LI, 9f.; Plut., Ant., 79; Suet., Aug., 66, 1.
16. *G. Luck*: Die römische Liebeselogie. München 1961 47ff.; for a recently found contemporary ms of his elegiacs see *R. D. Anderson – P. J. Parsons – R. G. M. Nisbet*: Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim. JRS 69 (1979) 125–155.
17. Strabo, XVII, 1, 53 records before the rising in the Thebais an insurrection in Heronopolis, at the eastern edge of the Delta; its causes are unknown.

18. Strabo, XVII, 1, 53; for the poll-tax and its consequences see *H. I. Bell* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 302f.
19. The remarkable sequence of the narrative hints at this possibility. Gallus records: 1) he crossed the First Cataract and penetrated into a territory which was inaccessible for armies before his day; 2) subjugated the whole Thebaid; 3) received the envoys of the Ethiopians in Philae.
20. However, the frontier was not at the First Cataract, but at the southern end of the Dodekàschoinos, cp. notes 1 and 3.
21. See note 2.
22. Diodorus, I, 37, 5; for the date cp. Theocritus, Idyll., XVII, 87; cp. further Callixenos in Athen, Deipn., V, 25, 196a–35, 203b.
23. Large-scale commercial contacts, centered around the import of Ethiopian elephants to Egypt, could not be maintained without this kind of initial intimidation of Meroe, especially since the commerce could not have been carried on without establishing traders' settlements on, and near to, Meroitic territory.
24. For the data see the recent survey and analysis by *E. Winter*: Ergamenes II, seine Datierung und seine Bautätigkeit in Nubien. MDAIK 37 (1981) 509–513; further *Török* op. cit. (note 13) and *id.*: Der meroitische Staat 1. Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum. Berlin 1986 sources Nos 29ff.
25. See note 24.
26. A. *Bernard*: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I. Époque Ptolémaïque. Paris 1969 No. 12bis, 149/8 B.C., cp. also OGIS I No. 168 = SB 8883, from Aswan, incomes of Chnum received from the Ethiopians of the Dodekaschoinos, 115 B.C.
27. For the ethnic history of the region cp. *W. Y. Adams*: Meroitic North and South: A Study in Cultural Contrasts. Meroitica 2. Berlin 1976 llff.; *id.*: Kush and the Peoples of Northeast Africa. Meroitica 5 (1979) 9–13. However, his dating of the "resettlement of Lower Nubia" must be regarded with caution: since Adams does not accept the evidence of Lower Nubian toponyms preserved in the lists of Bion, Juba and in the Ptolemaic nomos lists in Philae, he dates it much too late. It seems that – as also attested by above quoted inscriptions, to which can be further added the text of the Famine Stela – the Triakontaschoinos was populated by "Meroites" already in the 2nd century B.C.; however, the eventual continuity of the settlement since Harsiyotef's time is entirely obscure. – For the written evidence see recently *L. Török*: Economy in the Empire of Kush: A Review of the Written Evidence. ZÄS 111 (1984) 45–69.
28. Cp. also *Desanges* 1978 (note 1) 307.
29. See Strabo, XVI, 4, 22; *Desanges* 1978 (note 1) 143.
30. Relevant literature is too large to be quoted here; see the surveys of *H. D. Meyer*: Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung. Köln-Graz 1961; *W. Schmittenhener* (ed.): Augustus. Wege der Forschung Bd. 128. Darmstadt 1969; further *H. S. Jones* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 127–150; *F. E. Adcock* ibid. 596–601. – For the extremes of the interpretation see *R. Syme*: The Roman Revolution. Oxford 1939, 1952<sup>2</sup>; and on the other hand *H. E. Stier*: Das Friedensreich des Kaisers Augustus. Bremen 1950.
31. Moreover, he eternalized his achievements in inscriptions on the pyramids of Gizeh and on the obelisk now in Rome, P<sup>ra</sup> di Montecitorio. See Cassius Dio, LIII, 23, 5.
32. *G. Grimm*: Zu Marcus Antonius und C. Cornelius Gallus. Jdl 85 (1970) 158–170, fig. 1. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. No. 66.20, from Egypt.
33. Cp. *W. Schmittenhener*: Augustus' spanischer Feldzug und der Kampf um den Prinzipat. in: *Schmittenhener* op. cit. (note 30) 404–485 470f.
34. PIR<sup>2</sup> I. 27f. No. 179; Strabo, XVII, 1, 29; 46; Cassius Dio, LIII, 29, 3–8; Plin., N. H., VI, 160; Josephus, Ant. Iud., XV, 317; cp. *J. G. C. Anderson* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 247–253; *H. V. Wissmann*: Die Geschichte des Sabäerreiches und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus. ANRW II 9 1. Berlin – New York 1976 308–544.
35. Strabo, XVI, 4, 22–24.
36. For the date of his appointment cp. Jos., Ant. Iud., XV, 307; Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4; *J. G. C. Anderson* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 241; cp. also *Schmittenhener* op. cit. (note 33) 430<sup>128</sup>.
37. For his person and chronology cp. the remark in *P. A. Brunt*: The Administrators of Roman

- Egypt. JRS 65 (1975) 124–147 142 (*contra S. Jameson*: Chronology of the Campaigns of Aelius Gallus and C. Petronius. JRS 58 (1968) 71–84, 71f.).
38. For the history of the abortive expedition see *Anderson op. cit.* (note 36).
  39. Before 23 B.C. there were stationed 16 800 men in the three legions and 5 500 men in auxiliary forces in Egypt. Ca. 8 000 men were taken to Arabia, see *Anderson op. cit.* (note 36) 250.
  40. Strabo, XVII, 1, 54, for the nomarchs as tax-collectors in late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt see *I. D. Thomas*: Aspects of Ptolemaic Civil Service. The dioketes and the nomarch. In: *H. Maehler – V. M. Strocka* (eds): Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Mainz 1978 187–194 194.
  41. According to *Jameson op. cit.* (note 37) the expedition of Aelius Gallus started in the spring or summer of 26; this is unlikely on account of Jos., Ant. Iud., XV, 9, 2, cp. *Desanges* 1978 (note 1) 308 and does not fit into the chronology of Augustus between 27 and 24, cp. *Schmittenhennner op. cit.* (note 33) 442ff. – The march of Petronius from Alexandria to the First Cataract took only some weeks; if Aelius Gallus withdrew the forces from the Cataract region in the summer of 25, then the Meroitic attack could occur already in the late summer – early autumn and Petronius could arrive in the autumn of the same year.
  42. They were identified by *Hintze op. cit.* (note 11) 1959 25 with Amanirenas and Akinidad. Hintze's reconstruction of the events in Meroe and of the ruler chronology after 29 B.C. was partly rejected by *I. Hofmann*: Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie. St. Augustin b. Bonn 1978 92ff. I have identified the queen of the conflict and her son with Queen Naytal and King Aqrakamani of the demotic inscription Dakka 15/17, see *Török op. cit.* (note 1) and *id.: op. cit.* (note 27) 60.
  43. The existence of the garrison in the years preceding 21 B.C. is attested by a rich archaeological material, unearthed by excavations of the EES in recent years, to which also belong numerous papyri. The finds are, with a few exceptions (see note 16), unpublished. The study quoted in note 16 also mentions a papyrus in Greek, found together with the Gallus ms, and dated 22/21 B.C. – For the archaeological finds see recently the preliminary excavation reports of *J. M. Plumley, W. Y. Adams et al.* in JEA 60 (1974) 30–59, 212–238; 61 (1975) 5–27; 63 (1977) 29–47; 65 (1979) 30–41; 69 (1983) 43–60.
  44. For a thorough analysis see *Meyer op. cit.* (note 30).
  45. Pliny, N. H., VI, 181f.
  46. *K.-H. Priesse*: Orte des mittleren Niltales in der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des christlichen Mittelalters. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 484–497 s. v.
  47. *Ibid.* s. v.
  48. *Ibid.* s. v.
  49. *L. Török*: Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia. A Study in Territorial Administration of the Late Meroitic Kingdom. *Studia Aegyptiaca* Vol. V. Budapest 1979 8f., 16f.
  50. For conditions of the travel in Ethiopia in antiquity cp. *A. B. Lloyd*: Herodotus Book II. Introduction and Commentary II. Leiden 1976 117, 121.
  51. For the traditional interpretation of the Ethiopian relation of the sentence see *S. M. Burstein*: The Nubian Campaigns of C. Petronius and George Reisner's Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata. ZÄS 106 (1979) 95–105, 103ff.
  52. See *Anderson op. cit.* (note 36) 250ff.
  53. Cp. *J. G. C. Anderson* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 877.
  54. Strabo, XVII, 1, 54 (Jones): "he turned back again with the booty, having decided that the regions farther on would be hard to traverse".
  55. Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4–6 (Cary).
  56. According to Cassius Dio, LIII, 28, 1, he was near to Rome on January 1 of 24: his presence in the City can be attested between 6–12 June 24, cp. *Schmittenhennner op. cit.* (note 33) 459<sup>238</sup>.
  57. Cp. CAH X. Cambridge 1966 135; *Schmittenhennner op. cit.* (note 33) 455.
  58. Cp. note 50 and *Hofmann op. cit.* (note 12) 198ff.
  59. *Jameson op. cit.* (note 37) 83 suggests that after Petronius' first expedition the entire kingdom of Meroe was annexed. This seems to be based on the credence given to the sources about the capture of Napata. However, we do not know of any military safeguarding of the annexed country, apart from Primis/Qasr Ibrim, which unambiguously figures in the sources as the only garrison established by Petronius on the territory that formerly belonged to Meroe.
  60. Berlin (East) Staatliche Museen Misc. 10485–86; *K. A. Neugebauer*: Aus der Werkstatt eines

- griechischen Toreuten in Ägypten. Fs Schumacher. Mainz 1930 236 Pl. 23; *F. M. Snowden*: Blacks in Antiquity. Cambridge/Mass. 1970 132ff., fig. 84.
61. This dating follows from the fact that Cassius Dio records the wars in his annals under the year of their end; he recounts the war of Petronius among events of the year 22 B.C. However, this date seems too early in view of the fact that the envoys of the queen of Meroe met Augustus on Samos where the emperor stayed in the winter of 21/20. Since there were no armed conflicts preceding their journey to Samos, the period 22-winter 21/20 is too long for Petronius' march from Alexandria to Primis, for his preliminary talks with the Meroites before he sent them forth to the emperor, and for the latter's journey to Samos. It may perhaps be supposed that Cassius Dio is not correct as to the date or that the envoys were first sent to Rome, whence they had to follow the emperor to Samos.
62. This was a consequence of it being the right of Augustus to make treaties with foreign countries. This right doubtlessly goes back to the authority received in 27 B.C. Cp. *H. S. Jones* in: CAH X. Cambridge 1966 140f.; Strabo, XVII, 3, 25.
63. For the policy of the late 20's see *Meyer* op. cit. (note 30) 3ff.
64. *Ibid.* with sources and further literature.
65. The military safeguarding of the territory evidently took priority over the civil administration. Unfortunately Roman forces in the Dodekaschoinos after 21/20 are only imperfectly known (cp. *Anderson* op. cit. (note 36) 243f., 246), especially because the mud brick forts along the west bank of the Nile were merely noted by archaeological surveys before the building of the first and second Aswan Dam but not measured or excavated. Cp. *U. Monneret de Villard*: La Nubia romana. Roma 1941.
66. *D. Arnold*: Die Tempel von Kalabscha. Kairo 1975 6; *M. Dewachter*: La chapelle ptolémaïque de Kalabcha. Fasc. 2. Le Caire 1970 2f.
67. *A. Bernand* op. cit. (note 26) No. 12bis; *B. Porter – R. L. B. Moss*: Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings VI. Oxford 1939 202f., 254. The origin of the deity is obscure, the professional literature generally maintains that he was originally a Blemmy deity, but this is in fact a hypothesis that is improvable. He was regarded both as god of the west, *hnjt t3 jmmt*, which would speak against a Blemmy origin; and as god of the east, *jwj m t3 ntr*, which would support it. It is significant that he appears for the first time in a temple that was built by a Meroitic ruler. He became the local deity of this temple (i.e. Kalabsha), although it seems that later his cult spread not from there, but from Philae (certainly as a consequence of Ptolemaic policy in the Dodekaschoinos) to Aujala, Dendur and Maharraqa. – For literature on Mandulis see *E. Henfling*: Mandulis in: LdÄ III 1177–1179.
68. *Henfling* op. cit. (note 67) 1178f.
69. *H. Gauthier*: Le temple de Kalabchah I. Le Caire 1914 214 No. 4(a).
70. *A. M. Blackman*: The Tempel of Dendur. Cairo 1911; *E. Bresciani*: Dendur in: LdÄ I 1063f.
71. According to *F. Ll. Griffith*: Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus. Oxford 1937 33, the father and his sons fought against the Meroitic invasion into the Egyptian Dodekaschoinos in 30 B.C. and Augustus rewarded their pro-Egyptian and pro-Roman behaviour with the cult. This hypothesis cannot be proven. More probable, but similarly undemonstrable, is the assumption of *Bresciani* op. cit. (note 70) 1064 that the temple was built over a grotto housing the cult of a local "saint" since the 26th (?) Dynasty.
72. *C. Aldred*: The Temple of Dendur. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978 30f.
73. *Aldred* op. cit. (note 72) fig. 22.
74. *Aldred* op. cit. (note 72).
75. British Museum 1911.9.1.1; photo after *F. Hintze*: The Meroitic Period. in: Africa in Antiquity I. The Essays. Brooklyn Museum 1978 fig. 73.
76. The opinions on the origin of the statue are diverse. *L. Castiglione*: Kunst und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten. Acta Ant. Hung. 15 (1967) 107–152 109; *G. Grimm*: Ein Kopf des Ammon-Sarapis aus Elephantine. MDAIK 28 (1972) 141–144 143 and *H. Jucker*: Römische Herrscherbilder aus Ägypten. ANRW II 12 2. Berlin – New York 1981 667–725 680f. attribute it to an Alexandrian atelier. *V. Poulsen*: Glyptotheque Ny Carlsberg. Les portraits romains I. Copenhague 1962 27f. and *Zs. Kiss*: Etudes sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte. Varsovie 1984 34f. stress the Hellenistic character of the portrait but do not exclude a Roman origin.

77. Hofmann *op. cit.* (note 12) 200.
78. H. Kähler: Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta. Köln 1959.
79. U. Hausmann: Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts. ANRW II 12 2. Berlin – New York 1981 513–598 571ff.
80. *Ibid.* 571f. – I cannot however, follow, *Hausmann op. cit.* 576f. in his assumption that the Meroe City head belonged to a statue that was made after the Primaporta statue, around 17 B.C. This dating is based on his view that the statue was set up in Meroe after the Samos peace treaty. It is dangerous, however, to date the head (and, consequently, the development of the Primaporta type) on the basis of the historical circumstances supposedly connected to it. It is entirely obscure where it was set up, whether only in Egypt, or in Egypt and also in Meroe, or only on conquered Meroitic territory, and in what condition it found its way to the chapel in Meroe City, as a complete statue or only as fragment. The existence of the head (or of the complete statue) in the region of Meroe is only a supplementary argument for the late distribution of the type, and only if the late distribution is supported by independent iconographical arguments. Furthermore, I am unconvinced by Hausmann's suggestion that the statue was presented to Meroe as a sign of reconciliation and was, accordingly, set up, in Meroe City. There are two circumstances speaking against this assumption. Augustus was not only Roman emperor, but, in Meroitic terms, king of Egypt. It is unlikely that the statue of the king of Egypt would have been set up in Meroe, the presumable character and function of the statue of the ruler in Meroe could hardly have permitted it. But also from the Roman point of view it would have been a great risk, in view of the cultic significance of the statue of the emperor, to deliver it to conditions in Meroe, a country that was shortly before still regarded as barbaric foe. – For principles of the treatment of the statues of emperors see H. Kruse: Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche. Paderborn 1934 (reprint 1968) 9ff., 51ff.
81. With a different dating first proposed by J. M. Plumley: Pre-Christian Nubia. *ÉtTrav* 5 (1971) 7–24.
82. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 24.971. For the context of the find see D. Dunham: Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush IV. Boston 1957 106 Pl. LIII/A-D. For the dating of the pyramid see Hofmann *op. cit.* (note 42) 103ff. Hintze *op. cit.* (note 11) 1959 33 dated the reign of Amanikhabale between 65–41 B.C., S. Wenig: Nochmals zur 1. und 2. Nebendynastie von Napata. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 147–160 157 between 50–35 B.C., which is, in view of the presence of the cup in his pyramid, untenable. *Hofmann op. cit. loc. cit.* proposed a date in the first half of the 1st c. A. D.
83. C. Vermeule: Augustan and Julio-Claudian Court Silver. *Antike Kunst* 6 (1963) 33–40; *id.*: Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor. Cambridge/Mass. 1968 125ff., 137ff. (my figs 7–10 are reproductions of Dunham *op. cit.* (note 82) Pl. LIII/A-D and Vermeule 1968 fig. 56A).
84. Diodorus, I, 79; 94.
85. Vermeule *op. cit.* (note 83) 1968 143f., fig. 68; H. A. Grueber: Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum. London 1910 (repr. 1970) II. 551 No. 311.
86. In the case of the Hoby cups Vermeule, *op. cit.* (note 83) 1968 134ff. suggested that mythological figures represented on them bear features of members of the Julio-Claudian House; his interpretation was rejected, as exaggerating resemblances between coin portraits and profiles on the cups and also as iconographically improbable. Zs. Kiss: L'iconographie des princes julio-claudiens au temps d'Auguste et de Tibère. *Varsovie* 1975 107ff. seems, hesitatingly however, to accept Vermeule's identifications at least as far as Germanicus is concerned. – For the opinion *contra* Vermeule see U. Hausmann in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 223 (1971) 107–108.
87. J. P. C. Kent – B. Overbeck – A. U. Stylow: Die römische Münze. München 1973 96 No. 140 Pl. 36 (= RIC 60 var.).
88. For the iconography of the cup see recently T. Gesztesy: Zur Frage der Darstellungen des sog. Salomourteils. *Acta Class. Debrecen* 25 (1989) 73–84 84.
89. J. Garstang: Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 4 (1912) 45–71 50f.
90. J. Garstang: Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 5 (1913) 73–83 82; *id.*: Fifth Interim Report... *LAAA* 7 (1914–1916) 1–24 8.
91. For the paintings see P. L. Shinnie – R. J. Bradley: The Murals from the Augustus Temple, Meroe.

- In: *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham...* Ed. W. K. Simpson – W. H. Davis. Boston 1981 167–172.
92. For dating see *Shinnie-Bradley op. cit.* (note 91) and (on basis of the iconography of prisoners under the footrests of the enthroned deities) *Török op. cit.* (note 13) Excursus: Representations of the enemy in Kushite art.
93. *Shinnie-Bradley, op. cit.* (note 91) fig. 4, reproduce a water colour drawing made by Schliephack, artist of the Garstang expedition. I reproduce a more detailed copy, presumably made by Schliephack, after a photocopy kept in the Garstang Collection of the School of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool. I am greatly indebted to Prof. A. F. Shore for granting me access to the Collection. – *Shinnie-Bradley* compare the fringed piece of cloth behind the uplifted arm of the figure to a similar detail in the representation of Prince Arka on the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra (*F. Hintze: Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra*. Berlin 1962 Pl. 5), but suggest that in case of the Meroe painting it is not a part of the dress but a “fringed shield slung over one arm”. This is impossible, for the “shield” on the painting is made of the same patterned textile as the patterned robe. Also other representations, such as the one quoted above, in pyramid chapels e.g., render it probable that a shawl is meant. – *Shinnie-Bradley* overlooked an analogy of the representation of the prince on a lotus blossom in Musawwarat es Sufra, see *Hintze, op. cit.* Pl. II a, King and Prince in adoration scene.
94. On the basis of *Shinnie-Bradley op. cit.* (note 93) figs 1–3, further *Ahmed Mohammed Ali: The Nature and Development of Meroitic Architecture*. Ph. D. thesis Cambridge 1971 (ms) 48ff. with a drawing; and of photographs neg. nos 377–382 in the Garstang Collection, University of Liverpool, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies.
95. For their iconography see my study quoted in note 92.
96. Cp. *Shinnie-Bradley op. cit.* (note 91).
97. See in more detail my study quoted in note 13 and literature cited there. A detailed study of the period of Natakamani and Amanitore is being prepared by C. Berger and J. Yellin.
98. See note 97.
99. Cp. *Desanges op. cit.* (note 1) 1978 321ff.
100. Plin., N. H., VI, 181; 184ff.; XII, 19; Seneca, Q. N., VI 8, 3f.; Cassius Dio, LXIII, 8, 1. – For the date of the expedition cp. *W. Schur: Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*. Leipzig 1923 52; *Desanges op. cit.* (note 1) 1978 325; *Hofmann op. cit.* (note 42) 132ff. – Similarly to these writers, I disagree with *F. Hintze*, who in *op. cit.* (note 11) 1959 29 suggests that Nero sent two expeditions to Meroe.
101. In spite of the fact that there is a rich and fascinating literature on aspects of Meroitic history around 30–20 B.C., the problems touched upon in the present paper require further investigation. The bias of the Roman sources underlying my study could not be discussed in detail; for a more detailed discussion see my monograph mentioned above in note 24.

# Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture

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Within scholarly literature on Ethiopia's contacts with other lands much is still missing. In the case of more remote countries, contacts with for instance India<sup>1</sup> and Armenia<sup>2</sup> have been the object of articles and books, but no study of the Syro-Ethiopian relations, at least to my knowledge, has ever come into being. It is true that evidence of such contacts and, more precisely, of Syrian influences on Ethiopia can be found in the relevant literature, but scattered over many different publications. Yet the theme deserves more than casual attention from scholars, and in due time should result in a comprehensive monograph. For, as it seems, in the early history of Ethiopia as a Christian country and in the Middle Ages these contacts and influences were far more important for Ethiopian culture than those with India or Armenia.

Such a monograph cannot be attempted in the present state of research, and many subsidiary studies will have to be done before it is possible. The present paper, however, does not present any particular analyses and its aim is only to provide a sort of base from which to start further investigations. It is the hope of the present writer that the paper will mark off the field of research and review the problems involved, obviously without any claim of completeness. Further investigation will certainly provide more material testifying to the contacts in question. It will also corroborate or reject the suggestions presented here only tentatively.

Traces of Syrian influences can be found in many branches of Ethiopian culture. Here we shall try to point to some of them in the Old Ethiopic (Ge'ez) language (part I), in the Ethiopic Bible translation (II), in religious literature (III), in church liturgy (IV) as well as in architecture and art (V). Also some possible paths of contact will be indicated (VI).

I. Like every language which has come into contact with Christianity Ethiopic had to create its specific terminology for that religion. It could do so by adapting the native stock of its vocabulary to new ideas, and/or by loan-words. Naturally, many specifically Christian words in Ge'ez are Greek loan-words, but Syriac ones feature there as well.

Hiob Ludolf, the father of Ethiopian studies, was the first to draw attention to them.<sup>3</sup> Carlo Conti Rossini<sup>4</sup> gave an impressive list of these loans, among which some of the most central notions of Christian faith and church life could be found, e.g. *hā/aymānot* – 'faith', *Syr. haymānūtā*,<sup>5</sup> '*arami*' – 'pagan', *Syr. 'armāyā; mal'ak* – 'angel', *Syr. mal(')ākā; takansa* – 'to be assembled for religious purposes', *Syr. 'etkəneš*. H. J. Polotsky demonstrated that many of the loan-words should actually be attributed not to Syriac but to Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, as has been pointed out by Edward Ullendorff, who, as it seems, was the last to analyze these loan-words,<sup>7</sup> there still remains a Syriac residue.

Ullendorff's purpose was the demonstration of Jewish roots in Ethiopian culture, for which he used *inter alia* linguistic arguments. In this he certainly succeeded,<sup>8</sup> but in doing so he claimed some items for Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic which can perhaps be retrieved as evidence for influence from Syriac. He regards only the following words as having come into Ethiopic from Syriac: *ha/onāfi/e* – ‘pagan’, Syr.: *ḥampā*; *qasis* – ‘priest’, Syr.: *qaśšāṣā*; *ṣalaba* – ‘to crucify’, Syr. *ṣəlab*, id.; *qwərbān* – ‘offer, Eucharist’, Syr.: *qurbānā* (on phonetic ground, since Aramaic has *qorbānā*).

Items which, according to Ullendorff, can be of either Syriac or Jewish Aramaic origin include: *hā/aymānot* – ‘faith’; *'Orit* – ‘the Law, Tora’, Syr. *'Orāytā*; *si'ol* – ‘Sheol, the nether world’, Syr. *šəyōl*; *Masiḥ* – ‘Messiah, the anointed’, *Məšīḥā*; *nabiyy* – ‘prophet’, *nəbīyā*; *ha'ā* and *ha'at* – ‘to fail, sin’ and ‘sin’ respectively, Syr. *ha'ā*, *ha'atāhā*; *malakot* – ‘divine rule, divinity’, Syr. *malkūtā* – ‘kingdom, reign, (royal) rule’; *ṣallaya* and *ṣalot* – ‘to pray’ and ‘prayer’, Syr. *ṣallī* and *ṣalōtā* respectively; *som* – ‘fasting’, Syr. *som* (*ṣawmā*); *gazara* – ‘to circumcise’, Syr. *gəzər*; *sagada* – ‘to prostrate oneself’, Syr. *səgad*; *qob'* – ‘priestly headgear’, Syr. *qub* (*bə*)*'ā*.

Further research may very well win over some of the above items for Syriac<sup>9</sup> but it is also possible that some of the words which Ullendorff considered Hebrew or Aramaic loans may, notwithstanding their Jewish origin, bear witness to Syriac influence as well. It is quite conceivable that in the first place a word was borrowed from a Jewish source and yet later obtained a specifically Christian meaning under the impact of Syriac usage. This may turn to be true in case of e.g. *tərgwāme* – ‘explanation, commentary’, Syr. *turgāmā*, *mədrās* – ‘treatise, commentary’, and other derivatives of the same ideomorpheme (“root”), Syr. *madrāṣā*.

Some other words beside those already listed by Nöldeke, Conti Rossini and Ullendorff may turn to be of Syriac origin, e.g. *mazkar*, or *mazakkər* – ‘keeper of records, recorder’, Syr. *madkərānā* – ‘recorder, chronicler’, *ḥarāwi* – 1. ‘soldier’, 2. ‘freeborn, nobleman’, Syr. *ḥirāyā* – ‘free, well-born, noble’, *sutāf(e/i)* – ‘companion’, Syr. *šawtāpā*. Other to all appearances purely Ethiopic words may in fact be Syriac calques, as e.g. *bəsrāt* – ‘Gospel, good news’, cp. Syr. *səbartā*<sup>10</sup> – id.; *tasab'a* – ‘to become man’ is derived from *sab'* – ‘man’ just as Syriac *'etbarnaš* – ‘to become man’ is from *barnāšā* – ‘man, human being’, the derivatives in both languages belonging to the passive-reflexive conjugations.

Once an acceptable list of Syriac loanwords in Ge'ez is established it will be possible to go further in search of possible phonetic regularities which in their turn may shed some light on the phonetics of Ge'ez, for instance on the history of its sibilants.

II. It is generally accepted that the Bible was translated into Ethiopic in the fourth-sixth centuries by different translators and on the basis of texts in different languages. The question whether the underlying text was in this or that language must be answered separately for each Biblical book or group of books. Beside this early translation work, later revisions must be taken into account, since at least some manuscripts of Biblical books provide readings which are not in accordance with what is assumed to be the *Vorlage* for the book in question. It is also

conceivable that the same book was translated twice, i.e. from two different languages,<sup>11</sup> and then, in the process of transmission, mutual contamination of the manuscripts of both traditions took place.

Generally, the Syriac Bible is taken into account as a possible *Vorlage* for some books. So far as the Old Testament is concerned it is not clear whether the Syriac traces found so far point to the use of the *Peshitta* alongside the *Septuagint*, or to later (medieval) revisions made on the basis of the Syro-Arabic version.<sup>12</sup>

There is more evidence for the Syriac influence in the Ethiopic New Testament. Ludwig Hackspill, who analyzed the first ten chapters of the Gospel of Matthew,<sup>13</sup> came to the conclusion that the underlying text of the Gospel was Greek but not in the recension used in Alexandria, as could be expected *a priori* from the dependence of the Ethiopian Church upon the patriarchal see of Alexandria,<sup>14</sup> but in the so-called Syro-Western recension used in both Antioch and Latin West. It was Syrian monks, according to Hackspill, who brought to Ethiopia Greek Gospel manuscripts used in the patriarchate of Antioch, and subsequently translated them into Ethiopic.

As against this, Arthur Vööbus was of the opinion that the Syriac monks would not have taken any Greek Gospel manuscripts to Ethiopia, but only Syriac ones, and consequently the underlying text of the translation was according to him Syriac. Later it was adjusted to the Greek text, but traces of the primary translation have remained. Moreover Vööbus tracked down Gospel quotations in Ethiopic religious literature which reflect a Syriac *Vorlage*, having, unlike the text of the Gospel itself, not been subjected to the purging process. He found that these quotations betray the Old Syriac translation of the Gospels and not the *Peshitta*.<sup>15</sup> However, Vööbus's assertions will have to be scrutinized again since they were based mostly on examples from the *Miracles of Jesus*, which has turned out to be of Syriac origin (*vide infra*). Recently Josef Hoffmann<sup>16</sup> analyzed some personal names in the Ethiopic Gospels and found a mixed stock in which some clearly correspond to Greek forms and some do not. The former are more or less correctly transcribed, sometimes together with Greek case endings, as for instance in *Barabān* (Mt 27,16) where the Greek has Βαραβᾶν, i.e. with the accusative ending. Here there can be no question of any other underlying text than Greek. Also Ethiopic *Bartalomewos* seems to fall back upon Greek Βαρθολομαῖος. This name is given in Syriac as *Bar Tolmay*, and thus for the Ethiopic with its -os ending a Syriac original cannot be claimed. However, one is confronted with the opposite situation in the case of Gr. Βαγιονά. It is rendered in Peshitta as *Bar də-Yōnā* and in Ethiopic we find *Walda Yonā*, the Aramaic *bar* – 'son' not being transcribed, as in the two examples above, but translated (most probably under the influence of the Syriac genitive preposition *də*), thus betraying a translator conversant with Syriac.

More puzzling are forms like *Yohannas*. As J. Hoffmann remarked, of Greek Ἰωάννης only the ending -as remains. The initial *iota* is not rendered as a vowel, which is usual otherwise (as in *Iyarusālem*), but as a consonant, which is in accordance with the Syriac *Yōhannān*. In addition the Ethiopic form owes its *hawt* to the Syriac *het*, as it cannot be attributed to Greek.<sup>17</sup>

III. A similar situation to that of the Bible translation, i.e. with the use of a Syriac text beside a Greek one, is also met with in some pseudepigrapha. Such is the case with the Ethiopic version of the *Lives of the Prophets*. Some textual accordances between Syriac and Ethiopic texts as against the Greek, as well as some mistakes which can be explained by a Syriac *Vorlage*, point to the conclusion “that the Ethiopic translator of the Lives of the Prophets made use of a Syriac version as well as of a Greek text”.<sup>18</sup>

The *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, known also as the *Acts of Adam*,<sup>19</sup> a medieval Ethiopian composition, is based on two pieces of Christian apocryphal literature – the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* on the one hand, and the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*<sup>20</sup> on the other. Here the Syrian influence does not amount to the whole work being translated into Ge'ez but to it borrowing the theme, which on Ethiopian ground developed further.

This motif of the *Cave of Treasures* is not limited to the *Acts of Adam* but can also be found elsewhere, e.g. in another apocryphal story of Adam and Eve in an unpublished manuscript in Vienna.<sup>21</sup>

But the *Cave of Treasures* itself, or at least a part of it, has also entered Ethiopian literature. The part<sup>22</sup> is contained in a larger composition called *Qalemantos* attributed, as the title suggests, to Clement of Rome, the disciple of St. Peter.<sup>23</sup>

Also the *Testament of Adam*, another piece of Syriac apocryphal literature, is incorporated into the same composition.<sup>24</sup>

Beside the material just mentioned, *Qalemantos* bears further testimony to its being derived, at least partly, from Syriac sources. It states, namely, that the Lord's language in the work of creation and Adam's in paradise was Syriac.<sup>25</sup>

*Qalemantos*, itself a composite work, is often treated as a part of an even more comprehensive collection. In the authoritative church law texts, like the *Synodicon (Senodos)*, where the content of the Ethiopian canon of the Bible is stated, mention is made of eight books of Clement.<sup>26</sup> Naturally one feels tempted to connect them with the so-called *Octateuch of Clement* in Syriac.<sup>27</sup> However, while the idea of an octateuch being composed by Clement may very well be borrowed from a Syriac source, the Ethiopian and the Syriac collections are not identical. The analysis made by Roger Cowley shows that the Ethiopians filled up the number of eight books with a content differing in part from that of the Syriac *Octateuch*.<sup>28</sup>

The Ethiopic fourth book of Clement is the *Rules of Zion (Şər'ata Şəyon)* known also as the *Canons after the Ascension*. This is a collection of 30 pseudo-apostolic canons, forming part of the Ethiopic *Synodicon*, but originally an Edessene composition, known in Syriac as the *Teaching of the Apostles*.<sup>29</sup>

An interesting collection of apocryphal Gospel material, which in several ways testifies to Syrian influence, is formed by the *Miracles of Jesus (Ta'ammora 'Iyassus)*. Basically this is a translation of the apocryphal *Gospel of John* preserved otherwise only in Arabic<sup>30</sup> but, according to the colophon of a manuscript, the Arabic text is a translation from Syriac. The reliability of the colophon is however doubtful,<sup>31</sup> and it seems more probable that the *Gospel* was not translated from but rather based on Syriac sources.<sup>32</sup>

On Ethiopian ground the *Gospel of John* has been supplemented with other texts concerning Jesus, but not all the manuscripts of the *Miracles of Jesus* contain the

additions.<sup>33</sup> One of the appended texts is the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* known in many versions both Oriental and European. In Ethiopic there are two recensions of the *Infancy Gospel* of which the fuller “corresponds most closely to the old Syriac version of the Gospel of Thomas”<sup>34</sup> although the transmission may have not been direct.<sup>35</sup>

The third piece of literature of Syriac origin which is included in some of the manuscripts of the *Miracles* is the *Legend of Abgar*.<sup>36</sup> There are however also two other, independent, versions, which together with that of the *Synaxarium* makes four different redactions of the *Legend* in Ethiopic.<sup>37</sup> None of them however seems to be directly derived from that form which is known from the Syriac *Teaching of Addai*.<sup>38</sup>

Thus the legend of the Edessene king and his correspondence with Jesus must have been very popular in Ethiopia. Another trace of this popularity seems to be the former name of the capital of the country during the rule of the Zagwe dynasty. Before it was changed to Lalibela in honour of the Zagwe king Lalibela, who later became a saint of the Ethiopian Church, the name of the city was Roha, i.e. Edessa.<sup>39</sup>

Two other New Testament apocrypha: the *Book of Mary's Birth* (*Maṣḥafa lədatā la-Māryām*), which is the Ethiopic version of the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, and the *Transitus Mariae* (*Fəlsatā la-Māryām*)<sup>40</sup> are in fact compositions known throughout the Christian Orient. It seems that the Ethiopic version of the two originated in Syria, as Hugo Duensing suggested.<sup>41</sup>

Also the literature of the Falashas, which for the most part is borrowed from their Christian neighbours, although their religion is Judaistic, contains a work of Syrian origin. It is the *Apocalypse of Gorgorios* (i.e. Gregorios).<sup>42</sup> This monk, a Persian by birth, spent some time in Edessa before he settled on Cyprus. His vision, according to Jean Doresse, was composed in Syria.<sup>43</sup>

A more complicated connection with Syriac culture lies behind the *Glory of the Kings* (*Kəbra nagašt*), a national epos of Ethiopia, which glorifies the until recently ruling dynasty of the country by creating for it a legendary pedigree going back to Menelik, the son of Solomon and Sheba. In its present form the *Glory of the Kings*<sup>44</sup> came into being in the fourteenth century, but it contains traditions of a much earlier date. Irfan Shahid<sup>45</sup> drew attention to connections of the *Glory* with the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*<sup>46</sup> from the end of the seventh century. The roots of the two are to be sought in the Syro-Ethiopian contacts which took place in connection with the Axumite king Kaleb's rescue expedition at the beginning of the sixth century for the sake of the Himyarite Christians who were being persecuted by a Jewish king. In the Ethiopian epos Kaleb is one of the more important figures beside Menelik and his parents, whereas in the Syriac composition a Roman emperor of Ethiopian extraction is given a key role in defeating barbarians. Common to both works, although differently elaborated, is also the idea of the alliance between Rome and Ethiopia, most probably a reflection of the historical alliance between Kaleb and the emperor Justin (who also features in the *Glory of the kings*) with the purpose of eliminating the Jewish king of Himyar. The Syrians, who seem to have played a role in establishing diplomatic contacts between Byzantium and Axum, must have been impressed by the mighty Mono-

physite king's victory over the persecutor of their coreligionists in South Arabia. This gave the impulse for the glorification of the Ethiopian royalty, the traces of which can be found in Syriac apocalyptic literature and in Ethiopian political mythology. The whole problem requires however further investigation.

Somewhat peculiar are the vicissitudes of Aphrahat's writings in Ethiopic. At least some portions of his *Demonstrations*<sup>47</sup> were translated, of which the fifth, *On Wars*, is in Ethiopic attributed to Jacob of Nisibis,<sup>48</sup> whereas a fragment of the eighth, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*,<sup>49</sup> is contained in an Ethiopian fourteenth century treatise under the same title.<sup>50</sup>

The Ethiopic *Qerollo*s is a collection of sundry treatises and homilies in Christology, but not all of them were penned by Cyril of Alexandria, as might be expected from the title. The collection was translated from Greek but by Syrian missionaries, as Bernd Manuel Weischer believes.<sup>51</sup> This is supported by the fact that in Cyril's dialogue *Quod Christus sit unus*,<sup>52</sup> which also exists in Syriac,<sup>53</sup> there are passages in which the Ethiopic text agrees with the Syriac against the Greek.<sup>54</sup> The whole collection must have originated in Syria, as can be inferred from its being strongly anti-Nestorian, whereas in Ethiopia there were never any Nestorians to oppose.

The *Faith of the Fathers* (*Hāymānota 'abaw*) is a large collection of Monophysite patristic writings. This was compiled in Egypt ca. 1000 in Arabic and translated into Ethiopic ca. 1500. In this *florilegium* so far unpublished,<sup>55</sup> there are included writings of Syrian and Syriac fathers (Ephrem, Jacob of Serug, Sever of Antioch and other Antiochene hierarchs). Incidentally, one which has been published is the *Confession of Jacob Baradaeus*, the founder of the second generation of the Monophysite hierarchy in Syria.<sup>56</sup>

In the same epoch the collection of ascetic literature called *Books of the Monks* (*Maṣāḥəfta manakosāt*) reached Ethiopic via Arabic. This consists entirely of writings of Syrian ascetics and ecclesiastics: John Saba ('Aragāwi manfasāwi – *The Spiritual Old Man*<sup>57</sup>), Isaac of Nineveh (*Mār Yəṣhaq*), and Filoxenus of Mabbug (*Filkəyos*).<sup>58</sup>

As regards hagiographic literature let it suffice to say that lives of many Syriac saints are included in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, e.g. Ephrem's (15th *Hamle*), Jacob's of Nisibis (18th *Tərr*), Simeon the Stylite's (3rd *Nahase*).<sup>59</sup>

#### IV. The liturgy of the Ethiopian Church is traditionally considered to belong to the Alexandrian sphere but there are many liturgical items of non-Egyptian origin.

The Ethiopian version of the well known Graeco-Syrian *Anaphora of St James the Brother of the Lord* is based on the Syriac text.<sup>60</sup> Another Ethiopian anaphora, the so-called *Hosanna Liturgy of St. Gregory* "represents the Syriac and not Alexandrian type", according to Ernst Hammerschmidt.<sup>61</sup> A less clear Syrian influence, namely in its free treatment of the Institution Narrative, may be seen in the *Anaphora* known under the name of a Syriac father *Jacob of Serug*.<sup>62</sup> The Syriac anaphora bearing the same title is however a different composition.

Other Ethiopic liturgical texts which have more or less close Syriac parallels include the *Mystagogia* or the *Teaching of the Secrets* (*Təmhərta ḥəbu'āt*). It is in fact the 22nd chapter of the *Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*,<sup>63</sup> but it has an

independent liturgical life.<sup>64</sup> Out of the versions in three other languages it comes closest to the Syriac.<sup>65</sup>

Possibly Syriac influence was also exerted on an Ethiopic *Litany to Christ*,<sup>66</sup> each verse of which begins with *ba'onta* – 'by, via'. In the Syriac litany, which is believed to be the model of the Ethiopic, the counterpart of *ba'onta* is '*al*'.<sup>67</sup>

## V. Also Ethiopian architecture and art provides material testifying to Syrian influence.

Ugo Monneret de Villard asserted that all early Ethiopian church types were derived from Syrian ones.<sup>68</sup> The French archaeologist Francis Anfray, who excavated the Axumite sites Adulis and Matara (sixth-eighth centuries), also perceived resemblances between Ethiopian and (especially North) Syrian (Massif Calcaire) architecture. He finds them both in residential houses and in religious buildings: basilicas with rectangular apses, flanked by two side-rooms (e.g. the basilica of Matara is practically a copy of that of Kerratin in North Syria, sixth cent.), baptisteries on centralized plans (Matara = Qal'at Sim'an) and ecclesiastic complexes with auxiliary buildings adjacent to the church.<sup>69</sup>

Detecting Syrian influence in Ethiopian miniature painting is more complicated due to the fact that there are no Ethiopian manuscripts dating from the first millennium, and thus there is a time gap between the Ethiopian and Syrian items. The oldest known illuminated Ethiopian manuscript, the gospels of the Abba Gärima monastery (eleventh-twelfth centuries?) includes cards with architectural frames for the Eusebian canons which, according to Jules Leroy, were most probably painted in Syrian centres. Such half ready cards were exported *inter alia* to Ethiopia where the local scribes wrote on them the text.<sup>70</sup> They became a source of inspiration for illumination of later Gospel books.

These books, beside the canon decoration, included series of miniatures with christological cycles. It has been pointed out that both the composition of the cycles and the iconography of the particular scenes in many cases display similarity to those early Christian cycles and their iconography which were created in Syro-Palestine.<sup>71</sup> The problem awaits however a more comprehensive analysis.

## VI. The question which finally arises is: How did all these influences reach Ethiopia?

It is only very seldom that we can put our finger on concrete cases of transmission, but in a general way some paths of contacts can be named.

In fact the evangelization of Ethiopia may be regarded as the first known such contact since Frumentius and Aedesius, who persuaded the king of the country to accept Christianity, came from Tyre, i.e. a city within the realm of the patriarchate of Antioch.

The next known direct contact was established in the second half of the fifth century by the coming to Ethiopia of the so-called Nine Saints, who, as it seems, accomplished the christianization of the country, giving it a Monophysite character. According to Ethiopian tradition, preserved in some *vita*e<sup>72</sup> and in the *Synaxarium*,<sup>73</sup> they came from the Byzantine empire, but as C. Conti Rossini showed on the basis of their names, which reflect the names of Syrian monasteries, they were

Syrian monks.<sup>74</sup> They went to Ethiopia partly with missionary aims and partly to escape from the precarious conditions in which the Monophysites in Syria found themselves under the sway of the emperors devoted to the Chalcedonian confession.<sup>75</sup> Tradition attributes to them missionary activities and monastic establishments in Northern Ethiopia, not to mention counselling the kings on various matters, etc.<sup>76</sup>

Only one case more of direct contact between Syrians and Ethiopians can be referred to here. During the reign of Yəkunno Amlāk (1270–85) a Syrian became, exceptionally, the head of the Ethiopian church,<sup>77</sup> the rank with which only Coptic monks could be vested. His enthronement was caused by special circumstances – a temporary difficulty in obtaining a “proper” metropolitan from Egypt – and does not seem to entail any increase in Syro-Ethiopian contacts. Rather, its importance lies in the fact that it proves the presence of Syrian ecclesiastics in Ethiopia at that time.

Contacts through which the Syrian influences reached Ethiopia took place also outside the country, e.g. in Egypt. In the Desert of Scete (Wadi Naṭrun) Syrian and Ethiopian monasteries existed side by side.<sup>78</sup>

An even more important place of contact was Jerusalem where likewise the Ethiopian Chruch had a pied-à-terre, a monastic house (Dayr as-Sultān), shared with the Copts.<sup>79</sup>

As the material presented suggests, Syro-Ethiopian contacts were most intensive in the early history of Ethiopia. Moved by the missionary spirit Syrians, who seem to be the more active side, spread the Christian faith in the country, shaped the Monophysite character of the Ethiopian Church, participated in translating the Bible and religious literature, contributed to creating Christian vocabulary, established monastic centres, and built churches. The existence of contacts between the two regions in question is in fact quite a natural occurrence. After all the West Syrian (Jacobite) and the Ethiopian are sister churches, both of them belonging to the Monophysite family. During the heyday of Axum with the culminating point of the intervention on behalf of the South Arabian Christians, the country impressed the Syrians as the only one kingdom in which Monophysitism, i.e. the same form of Christianity as theirs, was the state religion. In later epochs, i.e. after the Muslim conquests, the direct contact diminished, although it never totally ceased. Rather, the Syrian influence continued to make its contribution to the development of the Ethiopian culture indirectly, through the intermediary of the Arabic translations of Syriac writings.

## ABBREVIATIONS:

AB – *Analecta Bollandiana*;

ÄthFor – Äthiopistische Forschungen;

BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London;

CA – Cahiers Archéologiques;

CISE – Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici;

CSCO Aeth – Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Aethiopici;

CSCO Syr – Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri;

DTC – Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique;

- JES – Journal of Ethiopian Studies;  
 JSS – Journal of Semitic Studies;  
 NT – Novum Testamentum;  
 NTS – New Testament Studies;  
 OC – Oriens Christianus;  
 OCA – Orientalia Christiana Analecta;  
 OCP – Orientalia Christiana Periodica;  
 OKS – Ostkirchliche Studien;  
 OrSuec – Orientalia Suecana;  
 ROC – Revue de l’Orient Chrétien;  
 RSem – Revue Sémitique;  
 SeT – Studi e Testi;  
 TLZ – Theologische Literaturzeitung;  
 ZA – Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete;  
 ZDMG – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft;  
 ZKG – Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.

## NOTES

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  2. B. A. Turayev, Iz armyano-abissinskikh snosheniy, Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkeologicheskogo obshchestva, 21:1 (1912), p. 03–015; D. A. Olderogge, L'Arménie et l'Éthiopie au IV siècle (à propos des sources de l'alphabet arménien), IV CISE, I, Roma 1974, p. 195–203; R. Pankhurst, The history of Ethiopian-Armenian relations, Revue des Études Arméniennes, n.s. 12 (1977), p. 273–345, 13 (1978–79), p. 259–312, 15 (1981), p. 355–400.
  3. H. Ludolf, Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam, Francoforti 1691, p. 201f.
  4. C. Conti Rossini, Storia d'Etiopia, I: Dalle origini all'avvento della dinastia salomonide, Milano 1928 (Africa Italiana 3), p. 155. His list was partly based on a previous study by Th. Nöldeke, Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen, [in:] idem, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg 1910, p. 31–46.
  5. Marking of the spirantization of the *beghadhekphath* consonants in the Syriac words quoted has been omitted; the transcription of the Ethiopic words follows that of W. Leslau, Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic), Wiesbaden 1987.
  6. H. J. Polotsky, Aramaic, Syriac, and Ge'ez, JSS 9 (1964), p. 1–10.
  7. E. Ullendorff, Ethiopia and the Bible, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967), p. 119–125.
  8. The problem of Jewish elements in Ethiopian culture was also given another explanation, propounded by H. Rodinson, see e.g. his: Sur la question des "influences juives" en Éthiopie, JSS 9 (1964), p. 11–19.
  9. Less probably so for *gazara*, as it refers to a practice characteristic for Judaism.
  10. This form is the result of metathesis, the common Semitic ideomorpheme being *BŚR*.
  11. Ullendorff, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 57; R. W. Cowley, Ethiopian Biblical interpretation: a study in exegetical tradition and hermeneutics, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), p. 234, para. IV.
  12. Ullendorff, p. 55; S. P. Brock, Bibelübersetzungen I: 8: Die Übersetzungen ins Äthiopische 2:

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14. So was in fact alleged by H. Zotenberg, Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1877, p. 25; B. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament: their origin, transmission and limitations, Oxford 1977, p. 232.
15. A. Vööbus, Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes im Lichte der literarischen Monuments, Stockholm 1951 (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 2); idem, Ta'amera Iyasus: Zeuge eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientypus, OCP 17 (1951), p. 462–467.
16. J. Hofmann, Das Neue Testament in äthiopischer Sprache: Probleme der Übersetzung und Stand der Forschung, [in:] Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare: der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte, hrsg. von K. Aland, Berlin 1972, p. 357–359.
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18. M. A. Knibb, The Ethiopic version of the Lives of the Prophets, II: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Elijah, Elisha, Nathan, Ahijah, and Joel, BSOAS 48 (1985), p. 19; see too idem, The Ethiopic version of the Lives of the Prophets: Ezekiel and Daniel, BSOAS 43 (1980), p. 198.
19. The Book of Adam and Eve, also called The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan: a book of the early Eastern Church translated from the Ethiopic ... by S. C. Malan, London 1882; the Ethiopic text published by E. Trumpp, *Gadla 'Adam*: Der Kampf Adams (gegen die Versuchungen des Satans) oder: Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes, München 1881 (Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 15:3).
20. La Caverne des trésors: les deux recensions syriaques, éd. (& trad.) par Su-Min Ri, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 486–7, Syr 207–8).
21. Ms. XXIV, N. Rhodokanakis, Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 151:4 (1906), p. 78f.
22. ROC, années 16 & 17 (1911–12), see the following note.
23. So far only a French translation of a part of the text is available: S. Grébaut, Traduction du Qalémentos (Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, 3), ROC 16 (1911), p. 72–84, 167–175, 225–233; 17 (1912), p. 16–31, 133–144, 244–252, 337–346; 18 (1913), p. 69–78; 19 (1914), p. 324–330; 20 (1915–17), p. 33–37, 424–430; 21 (1918–19), p. 246–252; 22 (1920–21), p. 22–28, 113–117, 395–400; 26 (1927–28), p. 22–31.
24. S. E. Robinson, The Testament of Adam: an examination of the Syriac and Greek traditions, Chico, CA, 1982 (Society of Biblical Literature: Dissertation Series 52), p. 18; see too: C. Bezold, Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami, [in:] Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke ... gewidmet, II, Geissen 1906, p. 910.
25. S. Grébaut, Traduction du Qalémentos ... (see n. 23), ROC 17 (1912), p. 26; R. W. Cowley, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 140.
26. R. W. Cowley, The identification of the Ethiopian Octateuch of Clement, and its relationship to the other Christian literature, OKS 27 (1978), p. 40–42; the *Senodos* remains unpublished.
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29. W. Witakowski, The Origin of the "Teaching of the Apostles", [in:] IV Symposium Syriacum 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature, (Groningen – Oosterhesselen 10–12 September), ed. by H. J. W. Drijvers et al., Roma 1987 (OCA 229), p. 161–171.
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  32. S. Gerö, *The Ta'āmra 'Iyāsūs: a study of textual and source-critical problems*, [in:] *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, University of Addis Ababa, 1984, ed. by Tadesse Beyene, Addis Ababa 1988, p. 166.
  33. See the list of contents of different groups of manuscripts in: V. Arras & L. Van Rompay, *Les manuscrits éthiopiens des "Miracles de Jésus" (comprenant l'Évangile apocryphe de Jean et l'Évangile de l'Enfance selon Thomas l'Israélite)*, AB 93 (1975), p. 133–146.
  34. S. Gerö, op. cit., p. 167.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Published with a French translation by S. Grébaut, *Les relations entre Abgar et Jésus*, ROC 21 (1918–19), p. 73–87, 190–203.
  37. See Getatchew Haile, *The Legend of Abgar in Ethiopic tradition* OCP 55 (1989), p. 375–410; the four are called by him, p. 375.: the *shorter version* (discovered by himself and published with a translation ibid. p. 378–387), the *older version* (Eth. text only: A. Haffner, *Eine äthiopische Darstellung der Abgar-Legende*, [in:] *Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel ... gewidmet*, II, Leipzig, 1918, p. 245–251, transl. by Getatchew Haile, op. cit. p. 405–410, and republished by the latter, on the basis of another manuscript with an English transl., ibid., p. 388–404), the *longer version*, and the *Synaxary version* (both published by S. Grébaut, see the previous note).
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# Prof. Gösta Vitestam's *Curriculum Vitae* and Bibliography

TRYGGVE KRONHOLM, Uppsala

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Dr. *Nils Gösta Vitestam*, Professor of Semitic languages at the University of Lund, was born in Vitaby in the South-Eastern parts of Scania, Sweden, on March 2, 1921. His parents were Farmer Sigfrid August Nilsson and Wife Hanna Nilsson.

In 1944 Gösta Vitestam began his academic career at Lund University. He received his B.A. in 1947, his M.A. in 1953. He obtained in 1957 the licentiate degree in Semitic languages, and in 1960 he defended his doctoral thesis *Kitāb ar-radd ‘alā l-ḡahmīya des Abū Sa‘id ‘Utmān b. Sa‘id ad-Dārimī nach der in der Körprülbibliothek aufbewahrten Handschrift (Cod. 850) zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Kommentar versehen*. Lund – Leiden 1960.

Immediately after being created a Ph.D., Dr. Vitestam was appointed Associate Professor (Docent) of Oriental languages. From 1960 until 1968 he occupied various posts in the field of Oriental languages at the University of Lund, acting for long periods as the chief professor in the field.

Finally, in 1968 Dr. Vitestam was appointed the successor of Sven Dederling as Professor of Semitic languages at Lund University, being thereby professor No. 19 on a chair established as early as in 1668. Professor Vitestam retired in 1987.

All the way throughout his academic career Dr. Vitestam took upon him a number of additional obligations. He served as a teacher at the Hermod's Institute, Malmö, in 1948–53. He acted as a teacher of languages, in particular Latin, at the secondary school of Trelleborg in 1954–57. Furthermore, several official responsibilities in the town of Lund were entrusted to him, e.g. as a Member of the Board of the City Council in 1962–67.

Dr. Vitestam was the chairman of the Philological Society of Lund in 1967. He was employed as a Philological Expert in the Swedish Bible Commission in 1975. He has been the Inspector of the Students' Nation of Southern Scania in Lund all the time since 1967; in addition he became an Honorary Member in 1968.

Professor Vitestam was elected Member of the New Society of Letters at Lund (*Vetenskapsocieteten i Lund*) in 1967, Member of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (UEAI) in 1968, Member of the Royal Society of Letters at Lund (*Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*) in 1973, and Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG) in 1975. He is moreover a Member of the American Oriental Society.

He has actively taken part in a number of conferences within the fields of Oriental studies in general and Arabic studies in particular, e.g. in Würzburg (1968), Brussels (1970), Visby-Stockholm (1972), Göttingen (1974), Freiburg (1975), Mexico (1976), Amsterdam (1978), Berlin (1980), Tübingen (1983), Würzburg (1985), and Budapest (1988).

Dr. Gösta Vitestam's literary production covers not merely scholarly works within the sphere of Semitic languages – especially classical Arabic text editions – but also popular studies on Oriental topics. In addition he has written a number of memoirs, local and personal studies pertaining to his native area of Sweden.

The subsequent bibliography is essentially based on professor Vitestam's own registration of his literary works.

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